ADOLF HITLER

FROM SPEECHES 1933–1938

Ein Ziel habe ich, ein einziges politisches Glaubensbekenntnis kenne ich, einen einzigen Lebenszweck habe ich mir aufgestellt, der heißt ganz einfach: Deutschland, mein Volk und mein Vaterland!

Adolf Hitler

1938

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THE CONSEQUENCES OF VERSAILLES

IN the course of history no people has ever been made a present of freedom, and if freedom did cost nothing no people would ever keep it! Freedom has a high price, and men must ever struggle to preserve it.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1935

As regards foreign policy, the National Government consider their highest mission to be the securing of the right to live and the restoration of freedom to our nation. Their determination to bring to an end the chaotic state of affairs in Germany will assist in restoring to the community of nations a state of equal value to the others and, above all, a state which has the same rights. They fully realize the importance of their duty to use this nation of equal rights as an instrument for securing and maintaining that peace which the world today requires more than ever before.

May the good will of all others assist in the fulfilment of this our earnest wish for the welfare of Europe and, indeed, of the whole world.

February 1, 1933

The peace which was made was concluded without any consideration of reality, without even any consideration of the simplest dictates of common sense it was a peace that was governed by but one thought, viz., how could the vanquished be suppressed, how could they be deprived of every particle of honour, how could they be branded for all time as the guilty party. It was a peace which was no peace, one which could have no other effect than to perpetuate hatred among the nations

We knew that history has always granted the victors the right to fix the terms of peace. But the victors cannot regard this right as giving them a moral claim to declare the nation that has the

misfortune to be defeated to be a second rate power and, what is more, to be therefore deprived for all time of certain of its rights. This is especially the case when the vanquished only laid down their arms because they had been given solemn promises.

We laid down our arms at a time when there was a possible danger that the whole of Europe might slide into the abyss of bolshevism.

October 24, 1933

For fifteen years the German nation has waited in the hope that the end of the war would lead to the end of hatred and enmity. The object of the Treaty of Versailles did not, however, seem to be to give mankind a lasting peace, but rather to perpetuate hatred for ever.

The results were inevitable. When right definitely yields to to might, a permanent state of uncertainty must be the consequence and can but hamper and interfere with all normal functions in the life of nations. In making this treaty men forgot that the world could not be reconstructed by the slave-work of a violated nation, but only by the trustful cooperation of all, and that for this end the primary necessity was the destruction of the war psychosis. It is clear that the problematical question of war-guilt cannot be settled for ever by the victors compelling the vanquished to sign a confession of their guilt. The ultimate war-guilt can surely best be seen from the contents of such a dictated treaty itself.

October 14, 1933

As it was, through ignorance, passion and hatred, decisions were taken which, in their injustice and lack of logic, contained the seeds of fresh conflicts.

The main characteristics of the present economic situation of Europe are the overcrowding of the west of Europe and the poverty of its soil in certain raw materials which are essential to the standard of life which has grown up in those territories with their ancient culture. If the statesmen at Versailles wanted to bring lasting peace to Europe, they should have recognized and followed the profound truth that the lack of the necessities of life has always been a source of conflict between peoples, instead of the dangerous and sterile conceptions of extirpation, punishment and reparation. Instead of preaching the idea of extermination, they should have embarked upon a reorganization of international political and economic relationships so as to do justice, to the fullest possible extent, to the vital needs of each nation.

It is not wise to deprive a people of the economic resources necessary for its existence, without taking into consideration the fact that the population dependent on these resources is bound to the soil and will have to be fed. The idea that the economic extermination of a nation of sixty-five millions would be of service to other nations is absurd. Any people inclined to follow such a line of thought would, by the law of cause and effect, soon experience the doom which they were preparing for another nation. The very idea of reparations and the way in which they were enforced will become a classical example in the history of the nations of how seriously international welfare can be damaged by hasty and unconsidered action.

As a matter of fact, the policy of reparations could only be financed by German exports. The export of the creditor nations was bound to suffer to the same extent as Germany for the sake of reparations was regarded in the light of an international exporting concern. The economic benefit accruing from the reparation payments could therefore never make good the damage which the system itself inflicted upon the individual national economic systems.

The attempt to prevent such a development by compensating for a limitation of German exports by the grant of credits in order to render payments possible, proved in the end no less short-sighted and mistaken. For the conversion of political debts into private obligations led to an interest service which was bound to have the same results. The worst feature, however, was that the

development of internal economic life was thus artificially hindered and ruined. The struggle to gain world markets by constant underselling led to excessive rationalization measures in the economic field.

The millions of German unemployed are the final result of this development. If it had been desired, however, to restrict reparation obligations to deliveries in kind, that too was bound to cause equally serious damage to the internal production of the nations receiving them. For deliveries in kind to the amount involved are unthinkable without most seriously endangering the production of the individual nations.

The Treaty of Versailles is to blame for having inaugurated a period in which financial calculations appear to destroy economic reason.

Germany has faithfully fulfilled the obligations imposed upon her, in spite of their intrinsic unreasonableness and the obviously suicidal consequences of this fulfilment.

The international economic crisis is the indisputable proof of the correctness of this statement.

The chances of restoring a general respect for international law have also been destroyed by the Treaty in no less measure.

For, in order to justify all the measures of this edict, Germany had to be branded as the guilty party. This procedure was, indeed, just as simple as it was inadmissable. In any future cases of conflict the vanquished will always be the guilty party, because the victor can establish this fact in the easiest manner possible.

This procedure therefore assumes a terrible significance, because it gave at the same time an excuse for the conversion of the power ratio existing at the end of the war into a permanent legal status. The conception of conqueror and conquered thus literally became the foundation of a new international legal and social order.

The degradation of a great people to a second class nation was proclaimed at the same moment as a league of nations came into being.

This treatment of Germany could not lead to the pacification of the world. The disarmed state and defencelessness of the conquered parties which was thus considered necessary —an unheard of procedure in the history of the European nations —was still less calculated to diminish the general dangers and conflicts, indeed it merely led to that condition of constant menaces, demands and sanctions which, by the unrest and insecurity which they give rise to, threaten to undermine the entire economic structure of the world. If no consideration is given by the nations to the danger of certain actions, reason may easily be overcome by unreason.

May 17, 1933

When the Peace of Versailles was dictated to the German people in 1919, sentence of death was thereby pronounced upon collective collaboration among the nations. Where there should have been equality, there was division into victors and vanquished. Instead of equal rights, there was discrimination between those with rights and those without. Instead of general reconciliation, punishment of the defeated. Instead of international disarmament, the disarmament of the vanquished. Instead of general security, security for the victors.

Yet even in the dictated Peace of Versailles it was expressly provided that the disarmament of Germany should only be carried out in order to enable the others to disarm in their turn. Here we are afforded an instance of the extent to which the idea of collective collaboration has been violated by those who are to-day its loudest protagonists.

Germany has fulfilled almost fanatically the requirements imposed upon her by the Peace Treaty, financially to the utter derangement of her finances, economically to the total destruction of her economic life, and in national defence to the point of absolute defencelessness. I reiterate here in broad outline the indisputable facts of Germany's fulfilment of the Treaties.

The following armaments were destroyed: —

Army

59,000 guns and barrels
130,000 machine-guns
31,000 trench mortars and barrels
6,007,000 rifles and carbines
243,000 machine-gun tubes
28,000 gun carriages
4,390 trench mortar stands
38,750,000 shells
16,550,000 hand and rifle bombs
60,400,000 priming caps
491,000,000 small ammunition
335,000 tons cases
23,515 tons cartridge cases
37,600 tons of powder
79,000 munition gauges
212,000 telephones
1,072 flame-throwers, etc., etc.,

in addition to sledges, portable workshops, anti-aircraft guns, gun carriages, steel helmets, gasmasks, machines belonging to the old war industries, gun tubes, etc.

Air Force

15,714 chasers and bombing planes
27,757 aeroplane motors

Navy

26 Blattleships
4 armed ships for coastal defence
4 light cruisers
19 small cruisers
21 training and special ships
83 torpedo boats
315 submarines

The following general material was also destroyed: —

waggons of all descriptions,
material for and against gas attacks,
material used in the making up of projectiles explosives,

searchlights,
direction finders,
instruments for measuring distance and sound, optical instruments of all kinds, harness, etc., all aeroplane and airship hangars, etc.

May 21, 1933

And the right to demand a revision of the Treaty finds its foundation in the Treaty itself. The German Government, in stating the reasons for, and the extent of, its claims, wishes for nothing more than what the existing results of past experience and the incontestable consequences of critical and logical reasoning show to be necessary and just. The experience of the last fourteen years is, however, unambiguous from a political and economic point of view.

The misery of the nations has not been relieved but has increased. The deepest roots of this misery, however, lie in the division of the world into conquerors and conquered, which seems to be intended to form a permanent basis of all treaties and all future order. The worst effect of this order lies in the compulsory defencelessness of one nation in comparison to the excessive armaments of the others. If Germany has continued for years to demand the disarmament of all, it is for the following reasons: —

The demand for equality of rights expressed in actual facts is a demand of morality, right and reason; it is a demand which is recognised in the Peace Treaty itself and one, the fulfilment of which is indissolubly bound up with the demand for German disarmament as the prelude to world disarmament.

On the other hand the disqualification of a great people cannot be permanently maintained, but must at some time be brought to an end. How long is it thought possible that such an injustice can be imposed on a great nation? What is the advantage of a moment as compared with the permanent development of centuries? The German nation will continue to exist exactly in the same way as the French nation and, as history has proved, the Polish nation.

Of what value is the temporary oppression of a nation of sixty-five millions as compared with the force of this incontrovertible fact? No state can possess a greater understanding for the young, newly created European national states than the new Germany which has risen out of the national revolution which was inspired by the same impulses. Germany wants nothing for herself which she is not prepared to give to others.

Germany, in demanding at present actual equality of rights such as can only be achieved by the disarmament of other nations, has a moral right to do so, for she has herself carried out the provisions of the treaties. Germany disarmed and carried out this disarmament under the strictest international supervision.

May 17, 1933

THE DEMAND FOR EQUALITY

Germany desires nothing except an equal right to live and equal freedom.

In any case the National Government will educate the German people in this spirit of a desire for freedom. The national honour, the honour of our army and the ideal of freedom must once more become sacred to the German people!

The German nation wishes to live in peace with the rest of the world. But it is for this very reason that the Government of the Reich will employ every means to obtain the final removal of the division of the nations of the world into two categories. The keeping open of this wound leads to distrust on the one side and hatred on the other, and thus to a general feeling of insecurity. The National Government are ready to extend a hand in sincere understanding to every nation that is ready finally to make an end of the tragic past. The international economic distress can only disappear when the nations have regained confidence in each other thanks to stable relationships.

March 23, 1933

The idea that it is possible to divide up the world for all time into states with different rights will always be recognised only by the one side. The German nation, in any case, is not prepared to be regarded and treated for all time as a second-class nation or one with inferior rights. Our love of peace is perhaps greater than that of other nations, for we suffered most from this unhappy war. No one of us has the intention of threatening anybody. It is only that we are all determined to secure and maintain equality for the German people. But this equality is also the primary prerequisite for every form of practical and collective cooperation.

So long as there are any mental reservations in this respect, really successful European cooperation will from the start be impossible. Once in possession of absolute equality of rights, Germany will never refuse to participate in those efforts which are intended to serve the cause of human peace, progress and economic welfare.

May 21, 1935

The German struggle for equality of rights, which we regard as a struggle for the honour and inalienable right of our people and which we will therefore never abandon, can in my opinion best be brought to an end by a reconciliation between the two great nations who have so often during the past centuries spilled the blood of their best sons on the field of battle without essentially changing thereby the underlying facts. I also believe that this problem should not be viewed merely through the spectacles of cool professional politicans and diplomats, but that its final solution can be effected only by means of a warm-hearted resolve on the part of those who once faced each other as opponents, but whose mutual esteem, based on a recognition of each other's bravery, could become a bridge leading to the future — a future which must never see any repetition of past sufferings, because otherwise Europe would indeed be brought to the verge of ruin.

France fears for her security.

Nobody in Germany intends to menace it, and we are ready to do whatever is possible to substantiate this.

Germany demands that she be accorded the same rights as other nations. Nobody in the world has the authority to deny a great nation such equality of rights, and nobody will be powerful enough permanently to prevent it.

But I will not abandon the hope that, in spite of all, the wish to come to a genuine conciliation and to bury the traditional hatchet for ever will gain more and more strength in both nations and will finally prevail.

If we succeed in bringing this about, then the time will come when Germany's unrelenting demand for equality of rights will no longer be regarded in France as a menace to the security of the French nation, but as the obvious right of a great people with whom they not only live in political friendship, but also share many common economic interests.

January 30, 1934

THE NEW GERMAN ARMY

After the other states had not only failed to fulfil their obligation to disarm, but had even declined all proposals for a limitation of armaments, I felt myself obliged, as the Führer of the German nation, responsible to God and my own conscience, in face of the growth of new military alliances and the information that France was introducing a two-year period of service, to restore once more, by virtue of the nation's very right to life, the legal equality of Germany, which other countries had refused her. It was not Germany who thus broke a contractual obligation which had been laid upon her, but those states which had compelled us to adopt this independent action. The introduction of universal military service and the promulgation of the law for the establishment of the new Germany army were nothing else than the restoration to Germany of a status of equal rights which threatens nobody but rather guarantees Germany security.

May 21, 1935

The purpose of the increase in the German army was not to rob any other European nation of its freedom, nor even to threaten it, but simply and solely to secure that of the German nation.

September 15, 1935

We know that the end of the education provided by our army is not, and never has been, the production of warlike militarists, but rather of good and reliable citizens who, in the hour of need and danger, will feel themselves to be one with the nation and, if ever fate should submit them to the hardest test of all, would bravely defend the freedom of their fellow countrymen as every decent man should. That is the thought that underlies the re-creation of our armed forces. Their purpose is not to wage wars of aggression, but rather to protect and defend our nation, so that Germany may never again fall victim to that terrible fate which we had to suffer for fifteen long post-war years. Our armed forces exist, not to rob other nations of their freedom, but to protect that of the Germans.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1933

We look upon our army as the protective barrier behind which the nation can work in peace. If we have to make sacrifices, and even heavy sacrifices, we shall always do so much more readily for the sake of our liberty and the protection of our labour than for the purpose of paying off future impositions.

But this army is the army of the National-Socialist State. It is our proudest and most precious possession. It is no new army. It is that glorious German army which can rightly claim to be the guardian and depository of a unique tradition. For us who once fought in its ranks the greatest recompense for our fifteen years of political activity is to see that we have been permitted by Providence to restore to the German people that uniform which is the symbol of their honour and their sacrifices, and to entrust it to loyal hands. The nation may

live and work in the tranquil assurance that from now on its liberty and its labour are protected by the strongest shield of peace.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1935

We National Socialists, however, have no desire for our Army to be used to force on other nations something that they have no wish for. The oath that our Army takes is not to shed their blood in order to bring the National-Socialist idea to other nations, but to shed it that they may protect it and, with it, the German Reich, its freedom and security, from the attacks of other nations.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1936

GERMANY'S WILL TO PEACE

National Socialism does not harbour the slightest aggressive intent towards any European nation. On the contrary, we are convinced that each European nation ought to live its own life, the life which has been marked out for it and regulated and determined by its own traditions and by its historical and economic necessities, if Europe as a whole is not to disappear — to the great harm of an imperishable civilization. In our decision under all circumstances to put this conviction into practice as far as the German people are concerned, we believe that we have given a useful example to the other European States.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1935

The German Nation has no desire for war as such; on the contrary, it loves peace and therefore strives to win its rights and seeks to attain what is necessary to maintain the existence of a nation of sixty-five millions. Germany and the German people have no cause to desire a war in order to restore the honour of the nation and that of its men and its soldiers. Our aim is to make our people happy once more by guaranteeing to them their daily bread. The work involved is great, and the world should leave us to carry it out in peace.

All we wish is to be left alone in peace so that we can work. And the world should know that the whole nation is pulling together in this work, — every man, every woman and every child.

October 22, 1933

If Germany advocates peace, it does not do so out of weakness nor cowardice. It does so because of the National-Socialist conception of people and state. For National Socialism regards the forcible amalgamation of one people with another and alien people not only as a worthless political aim, but in the long run as a danger to the internal unity and hence the strength of a nation. National Socialism therefore dogmatically rejects the idea of national assimilation. That also disposes of the bourgeois belief in a possible "Germanization".

It is therefore neither our wish nor our intention to deprive non-German sections of our population of their nationalism, language or culture, in order to replace these by something German and foreign to them. We issue no directions for the Germanization of non-German names; on the contrary, we do not wish it. Our racial theory therefore regards every war for the subjection and domination of an alien people as a proceeding which sooner or later changes and weakens the victor internally, and eventually brings about his defeat.

No! National Socialist Germany wants peace because of its fundamental convictions. It wants peace because of the realization of the simple primitive fact that no war would be likely essentially to alter the distress in Europe. It would probably merely increase it. Present-day Germany is engaged in the tremendous work of making good the damage done to it internally. None of our projects of a practical nature will be completed in less than a period of from ten to twenty years. None of our tasks of an ideal kind can be completed before fifty or perhaps a hundred years have passed. I started the

National-Socialist Revolution by bringing the Movement into being, and since then I have guided its actions. I know that none of us will live to see more than the very beginning of this great revolutionary development. What then could I desire more than peace and tranquillity? But if it is said that this is merely the desire of the leaders, I can reply that if only the leaders and rulers desire peace, the nations themselves will never wish for war.

Germany needs peace, Germany desires peace. And when I now hear from the lips of a British statesman that such assurances mean nothing, and that the only proof of sincerity is the signature appended to collective pacts, I must ask Mr. Eden to be good enough to remember that it is a question of an "assurance" in any case. It is sometimes much easier to sign treaties with the mental reservation that one will reconsider one's attitude at the decisive hour than to declare publicly before an entire nation one's adherence to a policy which serves the cause of peace because it rejects anything that may lead to war.

May 21, 1935

I speak in the name of the entire German nation when I say that all of us most sincerely desire to root out an enmity whose sacrifices are out of all proportion to any possible gain.

The German people are convinced that their honour has remained pure and unstained upon a thousand battlefields, just as they see in the French soldier their ancient but glorious opponent. We, and the whole German nation, should all be happy at the thought that we could spare our children and our children's children what we ourselves as honourable men have had to watch in the long and bitter years, and have ourselves had to suffer. The history of the last hundred and fifty years with all its various changes and chances should have taught both at least one lesson: that important and permanent changes can no longer be purchased by a sacrifice of blood. I, as a National-Socialist, and all my followers, absolutely refuse, however, by reason of our national principles, to acquire, at the cost of the life-blood of those who love and are dear to us, subjects of a foreign nation, who, in any case, will never love us. It would be a day of untold blessing for the whole of humanity if the two nations could once and for all banish the idea of force from their mutual relationships. The German Nation is prepared to do so.

While boldly asserting the rights which the treaties themselves give us, I will, however, declare equally boldly that in future there will be for Germany no more territorial conflicts between the two countries.

After the return of the Saar Basin to the Reich it would be insanity to think of a war between the two states. For such a war there could no longer, from our point of view, be any reasonable or moral excuse.

For nobody could demand that millions of young lives should be destroyed in order to correct the present frontiers. Especially as such a correction would be of problematical extent and problematical worth.

October 14, 1933

I have boldly made concrete proposals in regard to all those concrete factors which could be suggested as a means of lessening the strained tension existing in Franco-German relations. On one occasion I did not hesitate to support a concrete proposal for limiting the German army to 200000 men. And when this proposal was abandoned by its own authors I made an entirely fresh concrete proposal to the French people and to the European governments, but even the proposal to limit armies to 300000 men was also rejected.

I have made a whole series of such concrete proposals for the purpose of eliminating that poison with which public opinion has been infected in the various countries, and to abandon those more atrocious features of modern warfare, with the ultimate purpose of reaching a condition of practical disarmament, even though that purpose might prove slow in the achievement. Only one of these German proposals has

been seriously considered. A sense of realism led an English Government to accept my proposal for the establishment of a permanent ratio between the German and the British navies which is not only consonant with the demands of German security, but also takes into account the enormous overseas interests of a great world Empire. And here I may mention the fact that this agreement remains the only practical agreement embodying an understanding of mutual viewpoints, and therefore forms the only successful attempt at the limitation of armaments. The Government of the Reich are ready to supplement this treaty by a further qualitative agreement with England.

I have expressed the very concrete principle that the collective programmes which arise from an international pactomania have as little chance of realisation as the general proposals for world disarmament which under such circumstances proved impracticable from the very beginning. Against this I pointed out that these questions can be dealt with only step by step and always along what promises to be the line of least resistance. It was with this conviction that I also drew up a concrete proposal for an air pact on the basis of parity of strength as between France, England and Germany. The immediate result was that this suggestion was inconsiderately rejected and subsequently a new East-European-Asiatic factor was introduced into the field of European equilibrium, a factor which is incalculable in its military possibilities.

Thus I have been making concrete proposals for years past. And I do not hesitate to say that the psychological preparation for an understanding has always appeared to me to be quite as important as so-called concrete proposals. In this field I have done more than any honest foreign statesman ever dared even to hope for. I have removed the eternal problem of frontier revisions from the atmosphere of public discussion in Germany. Unfortunately it is often said, even by foreign statesmen, that this attitude of mine and the negotiations arising out of it are of no particular significance. I may point out that

as a German it would have been just as possible for me to make the restoration of the 1914 frontiers the moral basis of my programme and to uphold it in speech and in print, as did French ministers and demagogues after 1871. My critics cannot deny that I have some share of ability in this sphere. It is often much more difficult for a nationalist to bring his nation to a sense of reason than to do the contrary. It would probably have been much easier for me to arouse instincts of revenge instead of awakening and strengthening a feeling for the necessity of European understanding, which is what I have done. I have stopped public opinion in Germany from making attacks of this kind against neighbouring nations.

I have removed from the German press all expressions of hatred against the French people. I have laboured to instil into the minds of our youth an appreciation for the ideal of an understanding with France. And here my work has not been in vain. A few weeks ago, when our French guests marched into the Olympic Stadium at Garmisch-Partenkirchen, they probably had an opportunity of noticing whether and how far I had succeeded in bringing about such a change in the mentality of the German people.

The inner readiness to seek and find such an understanding is more important than the finely woven attempts of statesmen to ensnare the world in a legal net of pacts that are not clear as to the obligations they involve.

March 7, 1936

AUSTRIA

As long as Germany lay prostrate in the deepest distress, her attraction to the millions of our people who live outside the Reich was limited—although they even then desired to unite themselves with her in spite of the misery then prevailing in the Reich. But to the same degree that the German Reich experienced its revival and the nation was filled with a new faith and became more confident, the gaze of our oppressed and mistreated fellows beyond the borders of this Reich could but

turn with ever greater longing to the great motherland. From the time when the economic revival of Germany finally became more and more visible, the mere urge to self maintenance propagated the thought of *anschluss* with a state which in spite of all difficulties had seemingly mastered this distress as well. On the other hand people within the Reich became more and more indignant as they realized the continual persecution of Germans living just across the border.

Germany has now once more become a world Power. But what Power in the world would calmly tolerate in the long run that a host of its own members numbering millions should be most bitterly ill-treated before its very gates? There are moments when it is impossible for a proud nation to look on any longer.

I therefore decided for these reasons as well to bring about the conversation in Berchtesgaden with the former Federal Chancellor Schuschnigg, of which you already know.

I explained to this man most solemnly that a regime lacking every kind of legality and which really ruled only by force must in the long run come into continually growing conflicts with that expression of public opinion which is diametrically opposed to its tendencies. I endeavoured to explain to him that this development must lead, on the one hand, to an ever-increasing rejection, on the other hand to an ever-increasing oppression, and that, in view of the revived great power of the German Reich, revolutionary upheavals were bound to take place in the long run. The consequences could, in these circumstances, be but a further increase of terror. Finally a state of affairs was bound to arise which would make it impossible for a Great Power with a sense of honour to continue patiently to look on or declare itself disinterested.

I left Schuschnigg in no doubt as to the fact that there was no German-born Austrian with a feeling of national decency and honour who did not from the bottom of his heart long for a union with the German people and strive towards it. I begged him, to spare German Austria, the German Reich and himself a situation which sooner or later must lead to a grave dispute.

I proposed to him a way which might lead to a gradual internal *détente* and consequently to a slow reconciliation, not only between the people of Austria itself but between the two German States. I pointed out to Schuschnigg that this would be the last attempt on my part and that I was resolved in the event of a miscarriage of this attempt to protect the rights of the German people in my homeland with those means which, on this earth from earliest times, alone remained when human understanding declined to listen to the call of ordinary justice.

Deputies, men of the German Reichstag, on February 20 in your presence I stretched out a hand to the former Chancellor Schuschnigg. In his very first answer he rejectet it.

He began to fulfil the obligations agreed upon with a hesitancy which marched side by side with the obviously hostile attitude of other States to those obligations. Moreover we are now in a position to know that a part of the lying campaign against Germany was inspired by the Press office of Schuschnigg himself.

There could no longer be any doubt that Schuschnigg, who possessed no legal right of existence and who violated German Austria with the support of a terror carried on by a dwindling minority, was determined to break this agreement.

The first reports of a planned plebiscite appeared on Tuesday, March 8. They seemed so fantastic and unbelievable that they were thought to be pure rumours. On Wednesday evening we received knowledge through a really astounding speech of an attempted attack directed not only against the agreement worked out between us but also, and principally, against the majority of the Austrian people.

In a country in which for years there had been no elections, in which there were neither election files or lists, it was laid down that there should be an election in exactly three days. The vote in question was put in such a way that a refusal appeared punishable according to the laws then in force.

Schuschnigg desired a mandate for a further and still more brutal oppression of the overwhelming majority of the German

Austrian people. This breaking of his word and this measure could only lead to an insurrection. Only a crazy and blinded man would believe he could thus stop the mouth of the tremendous majority of the people in order to give a legal foundation in the eyes of the world to an illegal regime.

This insurrection, however, as to the outbreak of which there could be no doubt and which showed itself immediately, would have led to a new and on this occasion terrible shedding of blood. For experience goes to show that when passions are once fanned into a blaze as a result of such lasting wrong, they can only be extinguished with blood. But I was decided to put an end to any further oppression of my homeland, and therefore immediately gave orders for such necessary measures as appeared suited to save Austria from the fate of Spain.

The ultimatum over which the world suddenly began to make so much fuss consisted of nothing but the firm assurance that Germany was no longer prepared to put up with any further oppression of the people of German Austria, and thus of a warning not to choose a path which could lead no where else but to bloodshed.

That this attitude was wise was proved by the fact that within three days of intervention my whole country rushed to meet me without a shot being fired and without a single victim, so far as I am aware, although to the sorrow of our international pacifists.

Had I not complied with the wishes of the people of German Austria and of their new National-Socialist Government, there is scarcely any doubt that circumstances would have arisen which would later on have rendered it necessary for us to step in. It was my desire to spare this so beautiful country endless unhappiness and suffering. For when hate begins to blaze, then reason becomes cloudy, and there is no longer any just apportionment of guilt and expiation. National fury, personal revenge and the lower instincts of egotistical self-seeking unite to raise the torch, and in their madness seek victims without pausing to ask what is right or to think of the consequences.

What prouder satisfaction can there be in the world than for a man to know that he has led the men and women of his own homeland into the greater community of the nation!

And you all can understand how happy I am that I was able to present the German Reich with an unharmed land and its happy people instead of having to win a country covered with corpses and ruins.

I have acted as I alone can be responsible as a German to the history of our nation, to the dead and living witnesses of the community of our nation, to the Holy German Reich and to my dear homeland.

March 18, 1938

In the first place this is a German country, its inhabitants are German. It was the Reich which long ago founded this East March. It was men of the old Reich who long ago migrated hither. For countless centuries they have fulfilled their task as the East March of the Reich, and in so doing they have not merely remained German, they have indeed, on many an occasion, proved the shield of the Reich.

In the second place this country cannot, in the long run, live without the Reich. What do 32,175 square miles mean to-day? In the world of to-day, nothing! What do six and a half million people mean? Nobody takes any notice of them! Here is a perfect example for the German tribes of the truth of "United we stand, divided we fall!" Actual facts have proved that this land and these six and a half million could not live here. When a tiny country has more than 300,000 unemployed on relief together with 100,000 who have drawn the maximum amount of unemployment relief to which they are entitled, and is no longer able to solve the problem, then it is a clear proof that such a creation is not capable of independent existence. A further proof of this is to be seen in Austria's vital statistics. No one can deny that she has the lowest percentage of births and the biggest percentage of deaths.

In the third place this people had no desire to be separated from the Reich. In the moment when its mission as the leading people in a huge empire ceased, the inner voice of blood immediately made itself felt. After the collapse in 1918 German Austria immediately wished to rejoin the Reich. The fatal ruling houses were now done with and the people had no desire to identify itself with the values and formations of its erstwhile dynasties. But the world prevented the fulfilment of its wish. The democratic world outside prevented the *anschluss* between German Austria and Germany. But the people turned against this world. And in the period when the banner of National Socialism was rising in Germany, in this country too people came to look to it more and more, and, as I well know, hundreds of thousands belonged to the Movement in their hearts. Then came mistreatment of this people by a group that had no right, either by virtue of its numbers or of its value, to lead this people and country.

And if this third reason is not a sufficient explanation of the fact that I am addressing you here to-day, then I only need to give the fourth. This is my home! Years ago, as a mere boy, I left Linz and came to this city. Then something drove me from here to the great Reich. Then came the War, and I was so thankful that I, poor and unimportant man though I was, was able to do something for this great Germany. I fought as a decent German soldier. Then, after the end of the War, I went on my way through Germany and won this dearest land of all for myself, finding hundreds of thousands and millions who believed in me because I in turn believed un them. At a time when all began to have doubts of Germany because the need in which she lay was so great, I was proud to be a German, I clung fast to this people, I fought and struggled for it, and won its confidence. I would be a bad German if I had not all my life so thought and acted.

Finally, if that reason still leaves some people cold, then I must advance a fifth: I stand here because I am of the opinion

that I can do more than Schuschnigg. I am not presumptious when I say this. If I had not belived in it, I would not be here today; but Germany would not be where she is either.

I have shown by my life that I can do more than this dwarf who ruined this country. I do not know whether in a hundred years anyone will remember the name of my predecessor; but my name will remain as that of one of the greatest sons of this country. And I belive that it was the will of God to send a boy from here into the Reich, to let him grow up there, to elevate him to Führer of the nation, and to make it possible for him then to bring his home into the Reich.

I now proclaim for this land its new mission. Its mission answers to the call which once summoned hither German settlers from all parts of the old Reich. From now on the oldest East March of the German people shall be the newest bastion of the German nation and thus of the German Reich. For centuries in the troublesome years of the past the storms of the East broke on the frontiers of the old march. For centuries more to come she is to be once more an iron guarantor of the security and freedom of the German Reich, and thus yet another surety for the happiness and peace of our great people. And I know that the old East March of the German people will fulfil its new task just as it solved and mastered its old task.

I am speaking in the name of the millions of this beautiful German land, in the name of the Styrians, the Upper Austrians, the Lower Austrians, the Carinthians, the Salzburgers, the Tyrolese, and, above all, in the name of the city of Vienna, when I assure your sixty-eight million fellow Germans who are at this very moment listening to me throughout our broad Reich that this land is German, that it has grasped it mission, that it will fulfil it, and that no one will ever surpass it in its faithfulness to the great community of the German nation.

But our task will now be by work, industry, common action and cooperation to solve the great social, cultural and economic tasks, and above all to make Austria more and more a fortress of

the National-Socialist way of thinking and of National-Socialist determination to develop and construct.

As Führer and Chancellor of the German nation and of the German Reich I now report to history the entry of my homeland into the German Reich.

April 9, 1938

GERMANY'S COLONIAL DEMANDS

The German people once built up a colonial empire without robbing anyone and without violating any treaty. And they did so without any war. That colonial empire was taken away from us. And the grounds on which it was sought to excuse this act are not tenable.

Firstly it was said that the natives did not want to belong to Germany. Who asked them if they wished to belong to some other Power? And when were these natives ever asked if they had been contented with the Power that formerly ruled them?

Secondly it is stated that the colonies were not administered properly by the Germans. Now Germany had had these colonies only for a few generations. Great sacrifices were made in building them up and they were in a process of development which would by now have led to quite different results to those of 1914. In any case the colonies had been so developed by us that other people considered it worth while to engage in a sanguinary struggle for the purpose of taking them from us.

Thirdly it is said that they are of no real value. If that is the case, then they can be of no value to other states either. Thus it is difficult to see why they keep them.

Moreover, Germany has never demanded colonies for military purposes, but exclusively for economic purposes. It is obvious that in times of general prosperity the value of certain territories may decrease, but it is just as evident that in times of distress such value increases. Today Germany lives in a time of difficult

struggle for foodstuffs and raw materials. Sufficient imports are conceivable only if there be a continued and lasting increase in our exports. Therefore it goes without saying thac our demand for colonies for our densely populated country will be put forward again and again.

January 30, 1937

Whenever we say today that we have not enough space to live in and that we therefore need colonies, somewhere or other there arises a wiseacre who says to us, "But why do you need colonies? Colonies would not be the slightest use to you. After all you can always pay for what you want." But we know perfectly well that we can pay for what we want, if we have money. If we had not been plundered for fifteen years, then of course we could pay for what we want.

Certain rich people are always saying that riches are a burden, and that people should not desire them lest they be crushed beneath the burden. Does that not then suggest that they should be glad to surrender part of their burden? But still they never want to!

In the same way certain foreign statesmen say that colonies are a burden; but they have no desire to surrender any part of their burden. They declare that colonies are of no value; but under no circumstances are they prepared to return these "worthless" colonies to their rightful owners. In speaking of "rightful owners", I do so of course in an age that is filled with League of Nations ideals of morality and decency. It was in accordance with these ideals that we once became possessed of colonies, but the principles in accordance with which we lost them deserve the sharpest condemnation, even from the standpoint of League of Nations morality.

October 3, 1937

If my international opponents reproach me today with having refused cooperation with Russia, I can only reply that what I rejected was not cooperation with Russia but cooperation with Bolshevism which lays claim to world rulership. I am German. I love and am attached to my nation. I know that this nation can only be happy if it can live its life in accordance with its own nature and in its own way. The German nation has not only wept but has laughed heartily throughout its life, and I do not wish to see it descend into the gloom of international communism and the dictatorship of hate. I tremble for Europe at the very thought of what would happen to our old and over-populated continent if this Asiatic concept of the world, which is destructive of all our accepted ideals, should be successful in bringing upon us the chaos of the Bolshevist revolution. Perhaps I am looked upon as one who is accustomed to issue fantastic and inconvenient warnings. But it is for me a great honour and a justification of my conduct in the eyes of posterity that I am looked upon by the international oppressors as one of their greatest enemies.

March 7, 1935

The ideas by which we are governed are diametrically opposed to those of Soviet Russia. National Socialism is a doctrine which applies exclusively to the German people. Bolshevism lays emphasis on its international mission.

We National Socialists believe that in the long run man can be happy only in his own nation. We live in the belief that the happiness and the achievements of Europe are indissolubly connected with the existence of a system of free, independent, national states. Bolshevism preaches the constitution of a world empire, and recognises only sections of a central International.

We National Socialists recognise that every people has the right to its own inner life according to its own needs and

character. Bolshevism on the other hand sets up doctrinaire theories to be accepted by all nations without regard for their particular character, disposition or traditions.

National Socialism strives to solve social problems, together with questions and conflicts in its own nation, by methods which are compatible with our general human, spiritual, cultural and economic ideas, traditions and circumstances.

Bolshevism preaches an international class conflict and the carrying out of a world revolution by means of terror and force.

National Socialism aims at bridging over and equalizing unfavourable contrasts in social life, and in uniting the whole population in collaborative work.

Bolshevism teaches the overthrow of the rule of one class by means of a forcible dictatorship on the part of another class.

National Socialism places no value upon a purely theoretical rule of the working class, but lays all the more value on the practical improvement of their conditions of life and standard of living.

Bolshevism fights for a theory to which it sacrifices millions of human beings and incalculable cultural and traditional values. In comparison with ourselves it achieves only a very low general standard of living.

As National Socialists we are filled with admiration and respect for the great achievements of the past, not only in our own nation but far beyond it. We are happy to belong to European civilization which has inspired the modern world to so large an extent.

Bolshevism rejects this cultural achievement of humanity and asserts that real culture and human history began with the year in which Marxism was born.

We National Socialists may perhaps not have the same views as our church communities in respect to this or that question of organization. But we have no wish to see a lack of religion and faith, and do not want our churches turned into clubrooms and cinemas.

Bolshevism teaches godlessness, and acts accordingly.

We National Socialists see in private property a higher grade of human economic development which regulates the administration of rewards in proportion to the differences in achievement, but which also makes possible and guarantees to all the advantages of a higher standard of living.

Bolshevism destroys not only private property but also private initiative and zest for personal responsibility. In this way it has failed to save millions of men from starvation in Russia, the greatest agrarian state in the world.

The results of such a catastrophe in Germany would be inconceivable. In Russia there are ninety people living on the land to only ten living in the cities, whereas in Germany there are only twenty-five peasants to every seventy-five city dwellers.

One might go on with all this interminably. Both we National Socialists and the Bolshevists are convinced that there is a gulf between us which can never be bridged. Moreover there are more than four hundred murdered National Socialist Party comrades between us. Thousands of National Socialists have fallen in other organizations to forestal a Bolshevist revolt. Thousands of soldiers and policemen have been shot and massacred in the fight for the protection of the Reich and the States from the everlasting Communist uprisings, and more than 43,000 members of the National-Socialist Party have been wounded. Thousands of them have been blinded or crippled for life.

In so far as Bolshevism can be considered a purely Russian affair we have no interest in it whatever. Every nation must seek its salvation in its own way. But so far as Bolshevism draws Germany within its range, however, we are its deadliest and most fanatical enemies.

May 21, 1935

We certainly do not seek for contact with Bolshevism. On the contrary, it makes persistent efforts to corrupt the rest of mankind with its thoughts and ideas, and by so doing to plunge the world

into a disaster of unprecedented magnitude. And here we are ruthless foes. We overcame the communist machinations of Moscow in our own land, and we have not the least intention of allowing Germany to be annihilated from without by the material forces of Bolshevism.

British statesmen have repeatedly assured us of their desire to maintain the status quo in the world. Since this is the case let them apply it here. Whenever a European country falls a prey to Bolshevism, a shifting of positions becomes apparent. For the territories thus bolshevized are no longer sovereign states with independent, national lives of their own, but are now mere sections of the Moscow Revolutionary Centre. I am aware that Mr. Eden does not share this view. M. Stalin does, however, and is perfectly frank about it. In my opinion M. Stalin is still at the moment of speaking a much better judge and interpreter of Bolshevist views and aims than a British Cabinet Minister! Therefore we look upon every attempt to spread Bolshevism, no matter where it may be, with utter loathing, and where it menaces us, we shall oppose it.

February 20, 1938

RECOVERY

On January 30, 1933, I issued to the German nation a short proclamation setting forth the aims of our struggle. At that time I asked them to give me four years time, saying that at the end of this period I would answer to the German nation for the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of this promise.

Our opponents were convinced that we would never reach the stage of asking the nation for their opinion, for at that time they believed that our regime could scarcely last more than six or twelve weeks at the utmost.

But what has National-Socialism not made out of Germany in these four years? Who of these opponents would still have the effrontery to make any complaint against us to-day?

The points in my proclamation, which at that time seemed to them phantastic and impossible of fulfilment, now appear as a very modest announcement of an achievement that towers above them.

At that time these opponents did not think that it would be possible for us to carry out the 1933 programme, which now appears to us so small. But what would they have said if I had then held up before them the programme which the National-Socialist Government actually has achieved in a bare four years!

How they would have mocked us if on January 30, 1933 I had declared that within four years Germany would have reduced the number of unemployed from six million to one million;

that an end would have been put to the compulsory deprocpriation of the German peasantry;

that the income of German agriculture would be higher than ever before in times of peace;

that the national income would have increased from forty-one milliard marks per year to over fifty-six milliard;

that the German middle classes and handworkers would receive a new lease of life;

that there would be a trade recovery once more;

that German harbours would no longer look like the graveyards of dead ships;

that in 1936 alone there would be more than 640,000 tons of shipping under construction in German yards;

that the number of employees in countless factories would not merely be doubled but even tripled and quadrupled, and that in the short space of four years a large number of new factories would be built as well; that a Krupp factory would vibrate with the hum and hammering of the machines of the German reawakening, and that all these concerns would be guided no longer by the principle of unscrupulously making profits for the individual, but rather by that of service to the nation;

that the idle motor car factories would not merely start work again but would even be enlarged to an unparalleled extent;

that the output of cars would increase from 45,000 in 1932 to more than a quarter of a million;

that in four years state and municipal deficits would be wiped out;

that the tax revenue could amount to nearly five milliard marks per annum;

that the German State Railways would recover once more, and that their trains would be the fastest in the world;

that the German Reich would be given roads of a size and beauty that have never been seen before in the whole history of human civilization, and that, out of the first seven thousand kilometres planned, at the end of four years more than a thousand would be in use, and more than four thousand would be under construction;

that huge new housing estates with hundreds of thousands of houses make their appearance, and that in all cities of the Reich huge new buildings would spring up, which are to be regarded as the greatest in the world;

that hundreds upon hundreds of giant bridges would span ravines and valleys;

that German culture would prove its eternal value in these and in similar other splendid new achievements;

that the German theatre and German music would be able to celebrate a resurrection;

that the German nation would take a lively part in this, and that all this would happen without a single Jew any longer being connected with the intellectual leadership of the German people!

If, at that time, I had prophesied that in four years the German press would be filled with a new ethos and would be serving German ends alone, that the law of a new professional ethic would be proclaimed for German trade and industry, and that Germans would experience a renewal of their being and of their way of action; if at that time I had said that at the

end of four years there would be but *one* people, that social democrats, communists, the centre party and the bourgeois parties would no longer be able to wrong German life, that trades unions would no longer be able to stir up trouble among employees, nor employers' associations to corrupt employers, that at the end of these five years there would be no more state governments or parliaments, that the sixteen state flags—and with them sixteen different traditions—would have ceased to exist, and that the whole nation from workers to soldiers would now be marching behind but one flag and in but one confession of faith.

But what would they have said if I had prophesied that in these four years Germany would be released from the bondage of Versailles, that the Reich would receive universal military training, that in times of peace every German would serve two years that his country might be free, that a new fleet for the protection of our coasts and of our trade would be under construction, and that a powerful new air force would guarantee the safety of our cities, factories and workshops, that the Rhineland would be placed under the sovereignty of the German nation, and that the sovereignty of the Reich would thus once more extend over the whole of its territory!

What would they have said if I had prophesied that before the end of four years 99% of this nation, which was at that time so torn asunder, would exercise their right to vote and that 99% of these would record their vote in favour of the National-Socialist policy of reconstruction, honour and the freedom of the nation!

If I had prophesied all this and much more four years ago then I would have been branded by the laughter of the world as a madman. But all these things have now become reality. These are the achievements of a bare four years. Who can take it amiss if all of us who have shared in this work gaze in proud satisfaction on these achievements. In this short period the National-Socialist political leadership of Germany has

accomplished a miracle, and the National-Socialist army by which it has been joined has corroborated this miracle. To-day the political leadership and the military security of the Reich are more firmly rooted than ever before.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1936

When in a country hundreds of thousands of farmers are about to lose their houses and lands, when hundreds of thousands of industrial workers are losing their bread, when tens of thousands of enterprises must close their doors, employees and workers are being dismissed, when an army of six million unemployed, constantly increasing, more and more burdensome to the finances of the Reich, the states and the communes, is scarcely able to buy vital necessities in spite of all assistance rendered, when an intellectual proletariat is growing up whose acquired knowledge acts as a curse rather than as a blessing, when all the flourishing industrial cities are becoming desolate and huge areas beginning to become depopulated for want of a market for their products, when in other regions children of three and four years have not developed teeth because of an appalling poverty and the resultant undernourishment, when neither bread nor milk can be obtained for them, when the statement of a hard-hearted enemy that our German nation contains twenty million people too many is thus almost becoming a terrible reality, then such a nation does not cry for journalistic scribblers or parliamentary prattlers, it does not cry for commissions of inquiry, international debates, ridiculous votes or insipid platitudes from so-called "statesmen" at home and abroad! No! It cries for action which will bring salvation in spite of all prattling and silly newspaper articles. It has no interest in the literary discourses of drawing-room-Bolshevist international correspondents; it is interested solely in assistance which will snatch it back from the utmost misfortune! And above all, a man who feels it his duty at such an hour to assume the leadership of his people is not responsible to the laws of parliamentary usage or to a particular democratic conception,

but solely to the mission placed upon him. And anyone who interferes with this mission is an enemy of the people, no matter whether he attempts this interference as a Bolshevist, a democrat, a revolutionary terrorist or a reactionary dreamer. At such a time of distress the person who is acting in the name of God is not he who roams about the country-side with Biblical quotations in his mouth and spends his day either doing nothing and or else criticizing what others are doing, but he who gives his prayer the highest expression which can bind a man to his God, namely work!

When I took over the leadership of the Reich the number of unemployed has risen to well over six million and the number of members of families thus concerned to more than fifteen and a half million. Thus the solution of this problem meant not only paying out the money for these fifteen million people to live, but, above all, to produce the goods to be bought with this money. Hence the National-Socialist economic programme is not a programme of money, but essentially one of production. The greater the volume of production, the greater will be the share which the individual enjoys. Money itself is only an auxiliary in the service of distributing the goods of production. But in order to give the nation the position in the world which it needed for the unhampered carrying out of its vital tasks, it was necessary also to carry out an additional production of national armaments which do not benefit our people directly but only indirectly. But it was obviously out of the question to identify German salvation with fraudulent currency manipulations, i. e., to defraud our fellow-citizens by such things as sliding scales of wages, and therefore also of prices. Rather, it was necessary to increase production in order to ensure a constant purchasing power for the increasing income of the nation.

February 20, 1938

But this rise of Germany is no secret. The reason for it can be summed up under four headings.

In the first place we have put an end to all disputes between individuals, classes, churches and parties. Instead of these disputes we now have nothing but the German Nation. And what is more, we have convinced this nation that it can only exist as a nation and not as a collection of individuals.

In the second place over the nation is but one authority. Gone are the sixteen state parliaments; gone is the old Reichstag with its 600 odd sheep-like, bleating deputies who were forced to turn their backs on every problem for the simple reason that they were incapable of understanding it. We have set up one authority which is responsible to no one but the nation, and which, as a result of the nation's mandate, is really obeyed — as it always will be.

In the third place, and above all, we have brought it about that Germany has *one* will. For as long as every class in the nation submits itself to the one will, it will always be possible to find a solution for every problem.

And you must admit that so far we have done that: we have found a solution for every problem that confronted us. But I have succeeded in doing that only because I have had the whole nation behind me. It was only because you followed that I could lead you.

Last year, when I ordered the reoccupation of the Rhineland, the decisive point was not that the soldiers marched in, but that the whole nation at once ranged itself behind me. It is to all of you that that success is due.

The same holds good of the "Battle of Production", in the industrial as in the agricultural sphere. The more we all learn to move as one man, so to speak, when the order is given, the greater will be our success.

Finally, the fourth point of our secret is to be found in the fact that for us work is the thing. For us, I say, for it is not so in other countries, nor was it the case here in former years. There are countries for example, where for many people money is all that matters. We too have experienced that, in the days when a hour's work was rewarded with 100,000 marks, and

later with a million and even a billion — ten, twelve and fifteen years ago. But since those days the nation has thought it over, though it was not until our entry into power that the conclusion was drawn, viz, money is nothing, production is what counts.

Thus it is that we can point to the amazing fact that currency standards are collapsing in countries that are stuffed full of gold and *devisen*, while in Germany, where we have no gold or *devisen* backing, the mark is stable; for behind the mark of course stands work, and work is the safest currency since it is the safest backing. If directed aright the work of a nation of sixty-eight millions can accomplish miracles, and that is what gives money its value. If a farmer should ask me what is the value of the goods that he produces, I should reply, the value of the work that they enable a town labourer to do. Likewise, if a labourer should ask me what is the value of the goods that he produces, I should reply, the value of the farmer's work on the land.

What each of us receives must have been first produced by another; no one can receive more than the others have produced. Thus the problem of our currency is no artificial one, but merely a question of production, a question of work, a question of the organization of work and of the distribution of the results of work.

October 3, 1937

In 1932, that is, before the National-Socialist assumption of power, the German national income amounted to 45.2 milliard Reichsmark. It increased to 46.6 milliard Reichsmark in 1933, and in 1937 reached the round figure of 68 milliard Reichsmark.

In contrast to this increase in income, the general cost of living index remained practically unchanged, being 120.6 in 1932 and 125.1 in 1937.

That is to say, while the national income increased by nearly 50%, the increase in the general cost of living index was only 4%.

The reasons for this are to be found in the growth of our total production.

The value of industrial production rose as follows:—

1932	37.8 milliard Reichsmark
1933	39.9 milliard Reichsmark
1937	more than 75.0 milliard Reichsmark

But agricultural production, in spite of an intensive cultivation of the soil, also shows increasing results. The production figures are:—

1932	8.7 milliard Reichsmark
1937	over 12.0 milliard Reichsmark

That we are concerned here not merely with the problem of price fixing, but with one of increased production, is proved by the fact that it was possible, in spite of the increased buying power of the German nation and the consequent increased demands especially on the food market, to raise the amount of supplies from home production, which in 1932 amounted to 75%, to 81% in 1936.

This tremendous economic activity is also expressed in foreign trade figures. Without taking part in world conferences, without having at our command the gigantic economic possibilities of other world powers, we have succeeded in increasing our foreign trade in imports

from 4.2 to 5.5 milliard Reichsmark

and in exports

from 4.9 milliard Reichsmark in 1933
to 5.9 milliard Reichsmark in 1937.

The confidence of the German nation in its economic policy is also in accordance with these facts, and finds its expression in the increase in savings deposits. In the public saving banks the deposits increased as follows:—

1932	11.4 milliard Reichsmark
1933	12.1 milliard Reichsmark
1936	14.6 milliard Reichsmark
1937	16.1 milliard Reichsmark

The state revenues were as follows:—

1932	6.6 milliard Reichsmark
1933	6.8 milliard Reichsmark
1934	8.2 milliard Reichsmark
1935	9.6 milliard Reichsmark
1936	11.5 milliard Reichsmark
1937	14.0 milliard Reichsmark

In 1938 they will amount to more than 17 milliard Reichsmark.

February 20, 1938

NATIONAL-SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT

The future of the German Reich was first assured at the moment when the Reich became the sovereign and sole representative of the German nation. The unalterable principle of one people, one Reich, has made it possible to release Germany from the paralyzing effect of numerous individual states, and has subsequently led to a development of power resulting in benefits to the German citizen within the individual states on a far larger scale than would ever before have been possible.

Thus National Socialism corrected in a few years the deficiencies of centuries, and redressed the results of the sins of numerous preceding generations. Thus by putting an end to the internal state and party divisions, we were able to undertake and also in part to complete those tremendous tasks which to-day inspire the entire German people with pride and therefore with self-respect.

The National-Socialist revolution would have remained incomplete, if it had not placed the interests of the nation as a whole above those of the former states and especially above their so-called sovereign rights. It was not only the political parties which had to disappear. The abolition of the state diets had long been overdue. There can be only one sovereign power in the German Reich. It proceeds from the entire German people and not from a part of the people. In abolishing these states as

sovereign powers and doing away with their diets as the representatives of their sovereignty, we created the conditions necessary for a true sovereign power of the entire German people.

February 20, 1938

From Anglo-Saxon countries I often hear expressions of regret that Germany should have departed from just those principles of democratic government which such countries consider as specially sacred. This opinion is based upon a serious error. Germany too has a "democratic" constitution. The present German Government of the National-Socialist State has also been elected by the people and feels itself in the same way responsible to the people.

The German people has elected one man as its representative by an overwhelming majority. This is perhaps one of the most important differences between Germany and the conditions existing in other countries. It means that I feel myself just as responsible to the German people as would any parliament. I act on the trust they have placed in me and I carry out their mandate.

May 21, 1935

It is precisely in our negation of the principle of parliamentary democracy that we strike the strongest blow for the right of the nation to the self-determination of its own life. For in the parliamentary system we see no genuine expression of the nation's will — a will which cannot logically be anything else than a will to the maintenance of the nation —, all we see is a distortion, if not a direct perversion, of that will. The will of a nation to the self-determination of its being manifests itself most clearly and is of most use in the case of its best brains. They form the representative leaders of a nation, they alone can be the pride of a nation — certainly never the parliamentary politican who is the product of the ballot box and thinks only in terms of votes.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1933

It is further my will that this election will show the world that Germany is not a country where a people is ruled by the bayonets of tyrants, but one where the government rests on the confidence of the whole people. I am come from the people. After fifteen years hard work I and the Movement have come to rule the people. Nobody set me over the people. Grown up among the people, I have ever remained one of the people, and to the people will I return. It is my ambition to be the statesman who, the whole world over, has the best right to call himself the representative of his people.

March 21, 1936

No community can develop, or ever will be able to develop, unless the unlimited freedom of the individual is surrendered in favour of binding duties owed to the whole. Thus as long as mankind exists we shall always have the contradiction between the seemingly unlimited freedom of the individual and that lack of freedom which is imposed for the sake of the whole.

Unlimited individual freedom prevents the formation of any community and thus in reality renders the seemingly free individual the helpless victim of the struggle for existence and of the harshness of life on this planet.

Admittedly the organization of bigger communities demands the surrender of unbridled individual freedom, on the other hand, however, as a result of the performance achieved by the whole and of the better security thus afforded, it offers the individual a higher and protected standard of living. And that is what is necessary for any form of human civilization and, indeed, for man's superior position in this world.

Every successful attempt to put into practice the claim to unlimited individual freedom leads to anarchy. The grouping of individuals, however, by means of the limitation of the freedom of the individual in favour of the organization of a bigger community leads to the State. Thus the *sine qua non* for, and basis of, the State is, and always will be, the authority embodied in the will to the maintenance of the State.

Democracy is the intellectual cause of anarchy and, indeed, the intellectual basis of anarchy in every shape. No state owes its development to democracy as practised today, though all great empires have to thank this form of democracy for their destruction. Indeed the final excesses of this type of democracy must lead to anarchism, just as authority, or better the principle of authority, must in the last resort once more lead to the State, that is, to a higher order of the community.

But it is clear that every such higher order of the community is only then rational— and bearable— when the authoritarian will that prevails in it proceeds from men who are both fit and proper persons to exercise this will, and also of the same blood as the community itself. It is also clear that just as any other hereditary characteristic must be properly developed by each individual, so must the form of the community that men inherit be also continually fought for, and thus earned, anew. Just as the states did not develop from the democratic principle of the unlimited freedom of the individual, so they cannot be maintained by means of concessions in this direction. Nothing that needed struggle and hardship for its development can be maintained by means of yielding and weakness.

Long years ago organized life arose at the cost of unlimited individual freedom. It is no wonder that in all weak epochs this same unlimited freedom which has been called to order and subjected to limits should seek to regain its original state. Indeed the States have in democracy built and opened up the easiest road to this retrograde development of their own being. The end of such a road can only be anarchy, the dissolution of all human communities. In the time of their maintenance or further development the states can as little afford to make pacts with anarchy or even consider any concession, as could society afford to indulge in discussions or to treat with those elements in opposition to it at the time when it was engaged in forming itself.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1936

So great was the Revolution that its intellectual foundations are not even yet understood by our superficial contemporaries. They talk of democracies and dictatorships, but fail to grasp the fact that in this country a radical transformation has taken place and has produced results which, if democracy has any meaning at all, are democratic in the highest sense of the word.

With infallible certainty we are steering towards an order of things in which a process of selection will become active in the political leadership of the nation, as it exists throughout the whole of life in general. By this process of selection, which will follow the laws of Nature and the dictates of human reason, those among our people who show the greatest natural ability will be appointed to positions in the political leadership of the nation. In making this selection no consideration will be given to birth or ancestry, name or wealth, but only to the question of whether or not the candidate has a natural vocation for those higher positions of leadership. It was a fine principle which the great Corsican enunciated when he said that each of his soldiers carried a marshal's baton in his knapsack. In this country that principle will have its political counterpart. Is there a nobler or more excellent kind of socialism and is there a truer form of democracy than this National Socialism which is so organized that through it each one among the millions of German boys is given the possibility of finding his way to the highest office in the nation, should it please Providence thus to make use of him.

January 30, 1937

ECONOMIC PLANNING

We are all convinced that the complete carrying out of the idea of economic self-sufficiency for all states, which is threatening us today, is, when regarded from a higher standpoint, foolish and can only result in harm for all nations. Economically regarded, it is not very reasonable to endeavour artificially to turn natural agricultural and raw-material districts into industrial

districts, or on the other hand to endeavour to compel the over-populated industrial countries to produce rawmaterials or even substitutes by primitive means.

For Europe this development will one day have very unpleasant and evil consequences. But to alter it is unfortunately not within Germany's power. Looked at from the broad economic angle, it is against the dictates of reason. What happens is that, in so far as we are deprived of foreign markets for our exports, we are forced to restrict our imports. To that extent, so that German productive labour may not stagnate, we must either employ a complicated process for the production of the raw materials that we lack internally or else we must use substitutes. This task can be undertaken only by means of a planned economic system.

May 21, 1935

We must have the necessary raw materials if we are to have any export trade, and export we must if we are to cover our modest demands in foodstuffs. If we were to give up importing raw materials, the only result would be an immediate increase in the unemployment figures. But in this respect we, as a National-Socialist government, take the perfectly natural view — though it may be perhaps one which many a foreigner cannot understand — that we are not so very much concerneed with the question why there is some times less butter than at other times, or why there should be a minor shortage of eggs, but rather that it is our duty in the first resort to see to it that the majority of our people remain in employment and continue earning wages, thus preserving themselves from sinking back into the terrible distress that is the lot of the unemployed. We are not so much interested in the amount of butter the upper classes can get throughout the year, as in securing cheap fats for the masses as far as possible and, above all, in preventing them from being thrown out of work. Of course the bourgeois governments that surround us simply cannot understand that, but Germany has no bourgeois government, hers is a National-Socialist one!

This is likewise the reason why it is the high task of our national economy to direct the consumption power of our people along lines which can be satisfied out of the resources of our own national production. Since the possibilities of increasing the amount of our agricultural production are very limited, the necessary increase in production must take place in other spheres. It is the task of our direction and education of the people to guide the interest of the nation in this field and to increase its demands in this line. But when foreign critics put down the cause of our butter shortage to armaments, that is, when they make it a reproach that we should rearm instead of buying butter, then I can only advise such important economists just to pause to consider what the result would be if the millions of German workers who are now working for our internal needs and thus also for our armaments, were to be put to manufacturing goods for export. I am very much afraid that these clever economists would then utter even louder cries of despair at the resulting flooding of the world markets by cheap German goods.

Like every sound national economic system, the German one too must utilize its native possibilites as far as possible in order to be in a position to play its part in that of the world.

Since the National-Socialist State is under no circumstances prepared to limit the population, but is, on the contrary, decided to increase the natural fertility of the nation, we are compelled to consider the results that this development must have. There is no possibility of any considerable increase in the yield of the soil, and, for the immediate future, scarcely any of such an increase in our exports.

Thus it is the task of the National-Socialist Government and economic leaders to investigate most carefully the question as to which of the various necessary raw materials and fuels can be produced in Germany. The *devisen* that we shall thus save are in future to be used to help to secure foodstuffs and to buy such raw materials as cannot possibly be produced at home. This then is the programme of the new Four-Years Plan. In

four years time Germany must be completely independent of foreign countries as far as everything goes which can, in any way whatsoever, be produced by our own capabilities, by our chemists and engineers, and from our mines.

The building up of this great raw materials industry will provide economically useful work for the numbers that will be free when our rearmament is finished. It is our hope in this way to be able to increase production in many spheres, especially within the inner circle of our trade and industry in order reserve the proceeds from our export trade for the purchase of foodstuffs and for such raw materials as we cannot produce ourselves.

I have just issued the necessary instructions for the carrying out of this great economic plan. And carried out it will be with true National-Socialist energy. But quite independent of this, Germany cannot waive her claim to the solution of her demands in the colonial field. The right of the German people to live is just as great as are the rights of any other nation!

I am well aware that this new programme means the setting of a very great task, but it is a task which is already solved in many spheres as far as the scientific preparations go — the methods of production are even now being tested, some of them indeed have already been decided upon and settled. Thus it will be merely upon our energy and decision that the putting into practice of this programme depends. We National-Socialists do not know the meaning of the word "impossible", and we have no intention of adding it to our vocabulary. In four years time we shall once more render to the nation account of this gigantic work for the securing of their source of food-supply and thus of their life and independence. Perhaps we shall soon again hear western democrats complaining that instead of giving trade and industry the freedom to work in peace, we are putting it in the straightjacket of state planning. But you, my fellow citizens, will understand that this is not a question of democracy or of freedom, but one of existence or non-existence. We are not concerned here with the freedom or profits of individual industrialists, but rather with the life and freedom of the nation. Anyone who thinks that

he cannot exist within the circle drawn round the interests of this freedom and of this life has no right to exist at all within our community. Posterity will never ask us whether in this critical and menacing time we maintained democratic freedom — in other words, unbridled licence; its only question will be whether we succeeded in preserving a great nation from politcal and economic disaster. Incidentally, we have millions of decent, hard-working men both in town and country. They trust us, they expect of us that we make the right decisions for the maintenance of their lives. In comparison to that, how laughable and meaningless is the talk of a few unteachable democrats or jewish journalists.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1936

But in so far as our export trade is not sufficient to procure us the means of purchasing the needful foodstuffs and raw materials abroad we have decided to manufacture those raw materials ourselves and thus make Germany independent of foreign supplies. Here there is no question of producing "substitutes" but rather materials quite equal to the imported materials, and other materials that are entirely new.

The production of petrol, for instance, by a process of coal extraction has been organised on a large scale. In the near future this will keep new factories constantly occupied and thus we shall be able to supply an increasing percentage of the motor fuel needed in our trade and industry. This supply will be entirely a home product. We are, moreover, resolved to develop the manufacture of German fibre for the purposes of clothmaking. The problem of manufacturing artificial rubber is now solved. We have already begun to lay down the plant necessary for this industry.

In numerous other directions similar progress is taking place, such as the exploitation of our own oil resources and mineral deposits, both old and new, in various parts of the country.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1935

From the economic standpoint there are no grounds for asserting that Germany is withdrawing from international cooperation. The contrary is the truth. On looking over the speeches which several statesmen have made within the last few months, I find that they might easily give rise to the impression that the whole world is waiting to shower economic favours on Germany, but that we, who are represented as obstinately clinging to a policy of isolation, do not wish to partake of those favours. To place this whole matter in its true light, I should like to call attention to the following bare facts:—

For many years the German people have been trying to make better commercial treaties with their neighbours and thus to bring about a more active exchange of goods. And these efforts have not been in vain, for, as a matter of fact, German foreign trade has increased since 1932, both in volume and in value. This is the clearest refutation of the assertion that Germany is pursuing a policy of economic isolation.

I do not believe, however, that there can be a lasting economic collaboration among the nations on any other basis than that of a mutual exchange of goods and industrial products. Credit manipulation may perhaps have a temporary effect, but in the long run international relations in the economic sphere will be decisively influenced by the volume of mutual exchange of goods. And here the state of affairs at the present moment is not such that the outside world would be able to place huge orders with us or offer prospects of an increase in the exchange of goods even if we were to fulfil the most extraordinary conditions that they might lay down. Matters should not be made more complicated than they already are. If international commerce be in a bad state, that is not due to Germany's refusal to assist it, but simply to the fact that disorder has invaded the industrial life of the various nations and has influenced their relations with one another. Germany, however, cannot be blamed for these two things, much less National-Socialist

Germany. When we assumed power the world economic crisis was worse than it is today.

I fear, however, that I must interpret Mr. Eden's words as meaning that in the carrying out of the Four-Years Plan he sees an element of refusal on Germany's side to participate in international collaboration. I therefore wish it to be clearly understood that our decision to carry out this plan is unalterable. The reasons which led to that decision were inexorable. And since then I have not been able to discover anything whatsoever that might induce us to discontinue it.

I shall take only one practical example: — in carrying out the Four-Years Plan our synthetic production of rubber and petrol will necessitate an annual increase in our consumption of coal by a margin of something between twenty and thirty million tons. This means that tens of thousands of coal miners are assured of employment for the rest of their active lives. I must really take the liberty of asking this question : Supposing we abandon our Four-Years Plan, then what statesman can guarantee me any economic equivalent, outside the Reich, for these thirty million tons of coal?

I want bread and work for my people. I do not wish to have it for a short period through the operation, say, of credit guarantees, but through solid and permanent labour, the products of which I can either exchange for foreign goods or for domestic goods for our internal commercial circulation.

If by some manipulation or other Germany were annually to throw these twenty or thirty million tons of coal on the international market, the result would be that the coal exports of other countries would have to decrease. I do not know if a British statesman, for example, would be prepared to face such a contingency for his nation.

But this is the decisive point: Germany has an enormous number of men who want not only to work but also to eat. The standard of living among our people is high. I cannot build the future of the German nation on the assurances of a

foreign statesman or on any international help, but only on the real basis of a steady production for which I must find a market at home or abroad.

Here in my mistrust I may, perhaps, differ from the optimistic statements of the British Foreign Secretary. For if Europe does not awaken to the danger of the Bolshevik infection, then I fear that international commerce will not increase but decrease, despite all the good intentions of individual statesmen. For this commerce is based not merely on the undisturbed and guaranteed stability of production in one individual nation, but also on the production of all the nations together.

January 30, 1937

THE PEASANTRY

The first and most important representative of the nation is that part of it which, thanks to the fruitfulness of the soil, feeds man, and, thanks to the fruitfulness of its families, maintains the nation.

Just as liberalism and marxism denied the peasant, so did the National Socialist Revolution consciously confess him as the surest support of the present and the only guarantee of the future.

We know that the ruin of the German peasant would mean the end of the German nation. The whole intention of our political struggle is not to win or even take by force foreign peoples, but to maintain and secure the existence of our own. This is why we are so decided to do our utmost for the German peasant; here we can admit of no compromise or half-hearted measures.

A glance at our population statistics will show us that even today the future of the nation is bound up with the maintenance of the peasantry. It is therefore the task of those responsible for the leadership of the state above all, under all circumstances, and by every method, to maintain this element of the nation,

with the life of which the continued existence or destruction of the whole is bound up. In so doing we are moved by the realization that a thing that has been destroyed can be repaired, that an impoverished middle class can recover its wealth, that a ruined industry can be built up once more, that depopulated towns can be restored to life again some day, but that a peasantry which has been destroyed cannot not be called back to life at will, even if thoughtless Governments should perhaps at some later time recognize the errors that they had made The townsman who loses his business can always open a new one, but as a rule the peasant who has been driven from his land is lost for ever to posterity.

Fate has set us in a hard age and has thus given us the solemn task of sometimes having to make hard decisions. We know how great the distress is throughout the whole of the nation. We are decided to fight it in every way known to human ingenuity. But the final decision as to the success or failure of our work depends on how successful we are in rescuing our peasantry. And we are fully decided to follow the path which best promises us this rescue. We will learn from the events of the past and draw the necessary conclusions from the methods of the past, we will not hesitate to substitute more suitable methods for these, or to abandon former ways of thinking and acting in favour of better, even if our actions should perhaps for the time being be misunderstood by many. Finally, however, people will admit that the rescue of the German peasantry was necessary for the rescue of the whole nation.

October 1, 1933

We describe ourselves now as the Government of the German resurgence and of the national revolution. By this we mean that this Government regards and feels itself quite consciously as representing the interests of the German nation. It must therefore also represent the interests of German agriculture, for I cannot advocate the interests of a nation unless I recognize that

after all the most important force lies in that class which actually represents the future of the nation.

When I survey all the individual economic phenomena of the time and all the political changes, I find that the essential thing is always the question of the maintenance of our nationality as such. A favourable solution of this question can only be provided if the problem of the maintenance of the peasantry has been solved. History has taught us that a nation can exist without cities, but we know that it cannot exist without peasants. All fluctuations can be borne in the end and all blows of fate can be survived if there is a healthy peasantry. So long as a nation can rely upon a powerful peasantry, it will constantly derive new strength from this class. Believe me, the resurgence which we have just lived through would not have been possible if part of the people in the countryside had not always be in favour of our movement. It would have been impossible in the cities alone to conquer these starting points which have given us the sanction of legality in our actions. The German nation has therefore to thank the German peasant for the renewal, the resurgence, and thus for the change which will lead to the general restoration of healthy conditions in Germany.

April 4, 1933

INTERNAL PACIFICATION

Nothing in life could make me prouder than to be able to say when the end comes, "I have won over the German worker for the German Reich."

May 10, 1933

In Germany today we have a very extensive insurance system. People insure themselves against fire and floods, against theft and burglary, against damage by hail and drought, against illness and death—and the aggregate premiums amount to millions of pounds. But woe to the nation that forgets to insure the most important possession it has, namely, its political common

sense, the political common sense which has found its expression in the form of the community. Today the German nation can congratulate itself upon having found its way back to this same common sense. Every one must know how great is the value to all, that has resulted from this sound development. But let us, just for a moment, turn our eyes from Germany and see what is happening in other countries — there troubles, civil war, social struggle and economic crises tread on one another's heels; the fiery torch of revolution is borne from one end of them to the other; strikes and lockouts destroy millions of pounds worth of national income, and everywhere misery is still as great.

But in Germany we have risen above all this; not because a few industrialists got their factories going again, but because the community of the nation which National Socialism has created has done away with all this political and economic madness, and has thus for the first time given factories contracts which not merely give, but actually ensure, money for both workers and employers.

September 30, 1934

If we look round the outside world, we see that it is still, with but few exceptions, occupied with the class struggle. The doctrine which Karl Marx once proclaimed is still master, perhaps today more than ever before, of the life of many peoples. Its results we can see in internal disunion, in the failure of men to reach an understanding with one another, in the continuance of the class struggle, and in the results of this sad development.

We too experienced that once. Only a few years ago millions, probably by far the majority of the nation, steadfastly believed that the only solution of the tensions existing within the nation was to be found in struggle between the men in whom these tensions were embodied. Millions of our people regarded the class struggle as something that was perfectly natural, many could not understand that a new teaching had arisen which regarded this very class struggle as foolish and ineffectual.

If we examine class struggle as it makes its appearance in the life of the nations, we come to the following conclusions: The class struggle of byegone times has not succeeded in overcoming the causes of the struggle; all that it has achieved has been in each individual case a temporary armistice, with sometimes the one and sometimes the other class as the seeming victor. Indeed, it even seemed to run contrary to the interests of the participants, and especially to those of the leaders, to do away with these causes once and for all by means of a fundamental solution.

In the second place it is interesting to note that this struggle is not decided by common-sense or by right, but merely in each case by the economic position of the parties: — sometimes it was the unions who could afford strike pay, at other times it was the employers who were in a position to declare a lockout. Sometimes one side proved more clever at mobilizing certain arguments in its support, at other times it was the other. But this struggle has never been in any instance decided by reason or by right.

Thirdly, throughout all these years we have always seen that, whatever the result of each individual dispute, it never brought any real advantage to the successful party, but that in the end the result for both parties was equally negative. How often have workers and employers fought with one another! And yet what was the result of all this? Neither the one class nor the other ever succeeded in winning the mastery. On the other hand, however, it has cost both sides, year in, year out, incalculable sacrifices. It is possible to calculate that if these sacrifices, which amounted to hundreds of millions yearly, had been applied to a common relief fund, both sides would have been far better off. But by far the greatest sacrifice was that involved by the harm done to, and decrease in, national production, on which, after all, the people in the last resort lives. We saw the foolishness of our class struggles go so far as to lose us our great export markets abroad, simply because people

believed that wages and prices could be fixed in Germany without any reference to the rest of the world.

No, he who acknowledges these limitations, must realize that the solution of the differences which always exist between workers and employers, between wages and prices, cannot effectively be left to chance, but that the decision must be left to a higher reason which has to examine and weigh the pros and cons calmly and clearly before finally passing judgement.

It was thus necessary that a new basis should be found on which to build a government which should be above the sides at war with one another, and thus in the position to make authoritative decisions to which both would have to submit. It goes without saying that in so doing such a government serves the best economic interests and calls for the cooperation of all really capable business men, who are in turn independent and feel that the only duty they owe is to the nation. Today we have such a government.

In consciousness of this the National-Socialist Movement did not rely for its support on individual economic organizations but sought a synthesis of the German nation and its necessities, as well as those conditions vital to its national existence and welfare.

Today there is no more class struggle in Germany, for there is no longer any one left here who is in a position to lead it. The National-Socialist Movement and its organizations, which are based on a completely different plane to that of the class struggle, will never again suffer such an attempt to be made. There may perhaps be an odd person or so wandering round with such ideas in his head and is hoping for "better times"—which would in reality be worse times—when he will once more be in a position to mobilize this instinct. But let such people make no mistake—we have the power to prevent such a happening and we are decided to do so under all circumstances, and, what is more, as far as both sides are concerned.

We are, moreover, engaged in arriving at a practical solution of the differences which are at the bottom of the class struggle. We are in the happy position of being able to arrive at a practical solution while we ourselves are above these differences. May I say that in this respect I feel that I am the most independent man, beholden to no one, subordinate to no one, owing thanks to no one, answerable to my conscience alone.

There is but one commander of this conscience of mine—namely, the nation—the German nation and the pick of it that is united in the Movement, in the National-Socialist Party. In everything that I do this is the only commander to which I feel myself responsible. And just as independent are all my collaborators, both major and minor. Thus we are in a position to investigate quite objectively the problems which lie at the bottom of the class struggle, and to arrive at the best solution of which we are capable, bearing in mind factors which lie outside Germany as well as those which are purely internal.

October 6, 1935

The following are the achievements for the welfare of the working population:—

The wage arrangements before the advent of the National-Socialist regime may be summed up as follows:—13,000 wage schedules, bargaining between groups out for their own interests, hard-and-fast agreements, levelling of working conditions, wages under the standard log, struggles for power, strikes and lock-outs, general dissatisfaction.

After five years of National-Socialist constructive work:—

7,000 wage schedules, clearly defined legal relations, no hard and fast agreements, but minimum basic rates, wage scales according to performance, no class war with strikes and lock-outs, no wages under log standard, effective protection of all social interests, social settlement through the German Labour Front, social peace all round.

Holidays before the National-Socialist regime:—

Holidays mostly at the worker's own expense, no legal claim, long period of waiting before the first holiday granted, insufficient holiday period, at the most 5 days.

After 5 years of National-Socialist constructive work:—

Each working individual has a claim to holiday with pay, minimum and not maximum holiday fixed, grading of holidays according to length of service in firm, age, number of years employed and difficulty of work; a short period of waiting, as a rule only 6 months, before the first holiday is granted, increased holiday period up to 18 days for young persons, holidays also for seasonal workers, healthy recreation by means of cheap *Kraft durch Freude* tours.

Wage-policy before the National-Socialist regime:—

Wage equals price for article "work", schematic maximum wages, wages influenced by unemployment, wages below log standard, piecework under pressure, no stability of income, loss of earnings on public holidays.

After five years of National-Socialist constructive work:—

Assurance of the right to work, assurance of a minimum income, increase of wages with the increase of production, relation of wages to performance, stability of income, sound and honest piecework conditions, preferential treatment for large families, payment for public holidays.

February 20, 1938

UNITING THE NATION

The National-Socialist ideal of the community of the nation is a powerful reality. On it depends the whole German Reich and the existence and stability of the German people. If we do not all tackle our work as the most faithful unity, bound to one another for better or for worse, we will never be able to survive in our struggle for existence—which always has been and always will be hard—in the face of nations which have been more blessed by fate than we have been.

Let us make no mistake about it. The danger that our nation be torn asunder still exists today; beyond our borders, all around us, the elements of destruction are but waiting their opportunity once more to infect us with the poison that we have expelled from our body. Though its name may have changed from century to century, Bolshevism has always been present in the world. And it is always bound to exercise its evil influence as long as the nations do not find their way back to the ideal of the maintenance of their nationhood. Therefore it is the task of the Party and thus of the Government of today, by means of their whole activity, their teaching, their example and their leadership, once more to weld together all that is seemingly separated by life.

We all suffer under the burden of the past, many of us in Germany under that of the present as well. All the factors of birth and wealth, of knowledge, education, etc., traditions of many kinds, separate men and tend to dissolve the community of the nation as fast as it is built up. Woe unto us if no uniting factor be opposed to these.

October 6, 1935

It is thus necessary that the individual should finally come to realize that his own ego is of no importance in comparison with the existence of his nation; that the position of the individual ego is conditioned solely by the interests of the nation as a whole;

that pride and conceitedness, the feeling that the individual or the class to which he belongs is superior, so far from being merely laughable, involve great dangers for the existence of the community that is a nation; that above all the unity of a nation's spirit and will are worth far more than the freedom of the spirit and will of an individual; and that the higher interests involved in the life of the whole must here set the limits and lay down the duties of the interests of the individual.

October 1, 1933

The struggle for existence is hard, but it will not be made any easier by each man going his own way, by each declaring that he will do what he wishes and act as seems best to him. No! We must live together. No one can cut himself off from this community, for no one can escape this common fate. And on this hard and sober realization is based the compelling commandment for the community of our nation, the prerequisite for the successful carrying on of our struggle for existence.

May 1, 1937

In Germany we really have broken with the world of prejudices. I am not considering myself here. I too am a child of this people, and was not born in some castle or other, but come from the work place. . . . I too was not a general, but simply an ordinary soldier. It is a wonderful thing that in our country an unknown man, one of the millions of German men, of German soldiers and workmen, should be able to take his place at the head of the Reich and of the nation. Beside me stand men of all classes who now belong to the Government. Men who were once agricultural labourers are today state governors; former metal-workers are today district leaders; on the other hand former bourgeois and former aristocrats also take their place in the Movement. It is all one to us what their origin was, as long as they can work for the benefit of our nation. That is the deciding factor. For we did not abolish class-distinctions in order to set up new ones, we did away with them in order to be

able to set the nation as a whole in their place. And in so doing we have acted consistently. We have done away with the hatred shown by certain classes to manual labour and introduced the Labour Service. Just consider the fact that nowadays every young man of what was formerly the middle class now shoulders his spade and works on moor and in quarry like any other of his comrades; there you have work of educational value that we are carrying through for the benefit of all. At the same time we also educate people to respect intellectual achievements. Just as we bring the one to respect manual labour, so we also bring the other to respect intellectual work.

Today there are simply citizens of the German State, men and women whose value is judged simply by their achievements. If a man is a genius, then it goes without saying that I will not use him for digging potatoes all his life, but set him to work at something else. In the last resort that is what the community of the nation is there for. What then is the meaning of Socialism and Democracy? Can there be anything better than an organization which seeks out the nation's best men and sets them at its head? Is it not a wonderful thing that every mother and father can feel that their son can become anything if only he has the necessary talent? This is the highest form of Socialism that there is, because it is the most reasonable and the wisest—for it is to the benefit of us all.

May 1, 1937

This is the work of the National-Socialist Party. This could only be carried out by a movement that was not under an obligation to some person or other, that stood not for the employers or for the workers, not for the big cities or for the country, not for the middle classes or for the trading classes, but simply and solely for the whole nation, for the community that had one common fate. It is subordinate to no individual, serves no individual, obeys no individual; it obeys and serves all. Its aim is to set up a strong community, to rule wisely and sensibly, to the end that it may thus make life possible for all its fellow citizens.

May 1, 1937

In succeeding in giving our people a new idea and, by means of this new idea, in leading them to a new form of life, we have accomplished the greatest thing that has been achieved for our people in this century. It is, moreover, an achievement that will by far outlive all the day to day work which can, thanks to this unique achievement, be done.

Thus it is that we regard May 1st as the symbol of this achievement. It was not for nothing that we chose this particular day and organized it in this form. There may perhaps be a few people who ask themselves—perhaps even on this very day—why should we go out on such a day, in such appalling weather? Why should we march? Why should we gather here in millions? But the answer is obvious: to give a symbolical expression to the fact that we are not townspeople or country people, not manual labourers, white-collar workers, artisans, peasants, students, bourgeois, or followers of any particular ideology, but that we are all members of one nation, that, ~~when we are united~~, ~~we are that which~~ must unite ~~us all~~ in the common duty to do our work in this world with all the strength which Almighty God has given us—each in his place, each where he stands and where he must stand. We know too that there are many who could not be replaced, but, more than that, there is no one whom we can do without, whether he comes from the factory, the counting-house, the drawing office, business or the fields: one people in one single great community, engaged in the fulfilment of one single great task. Thus are we come together on this day, in order on one occasion, at least, to give symbolical expression to the fact that we are more than a collection of individual beings possessed by not the slightest wish to have anything to do with each other, that none of us is too proud, too high, too rich or too poor to gather together before the face of the Lord and of the world in this indissoluble community bound by the most solemn oath.

May 1, 1935

If we keep this day as the festival of the community of the German nation, the question immediately presents itself as

to what it is which the nation shares in common. Is it blood? Blood is a common possession, but that has not prevented men who spoke the one language from being at loggerheads with one another for centuries. Is it our common economic interests? But that has not prevented the hardest struggles from taking place precisely in this sphere. Is it our history? We know it only too well: a sad tale of war and dissension. Is it the religion which is common to us all? No, here too we have fought and disputed with one another—the Thirty Years War is a terrible example of this. In the same way it is not common customs nor common usages.

No, it is something quite different which not merely brings us to this community but even makes it unavoidable. It is our common fate, that common fate which none can escape and which is the lot of all life upon this earth.

May 1, 1937

Thus May 1st is the glorious festival of the resurrection of the German nation from its dismemberment into factions. It is the glorious day of the establishment of a new and great community of the people which rises above all disruptive elements, which has at its command both town and country—workers, peasants and intellectuals, which protects all with the weapons and army of the Reich.

What is then more natural than that on this day we should once more declare our belief in our nation with all our hearts. We cannot often enough renew our confession of faith that it is our desire to belong to this nation and to serve it; that it is our desire to do all that we can to understand one another, so that we may overcome all that tends to separate us from one another and thus to defeat foolish doubters, mockers and the everlasting petty critics; that above all it is our desire on this very day to renew our faith in our nation and the conviction that it is a pre-eminent, capable, hard-working and

decent nation, and that this nation will have its proper future because we are the people who are seeing to it that this future be assured.

May 1, 1937

And as you stand here gathered together before me, may you one and all forget what life has made out of you as individuals, may you remember that in spite of all these barriers you are members of the one nation, and that you are so not by human will but by God's will. It was He who made us members of this nation, He who gave us our mother tongue, He who implanted in us that being with which we are filled, which we must obey if we are to be more on earth than mere worthless chaff.

May 1, 1935

SOCIAL POLICY

All the same, owing to the peculiar circumstances of my career, I am, perhaps, more capable than any one else of understanding the nature and the life of the various German classes. Not because I have been able to observe this life from above, but because I have participated in it, because fate in a moment of caprice, or, perhaps, in fulfilment of the designs of Providence, cast my lot in with that of the great masses, because I myself was for many years a worker and had to earn my bread by the sweat of my brow, because, moreover, I lived for years among the masses as a common soldier, because, finally, fate lifted me into another class of our people so that I came to know this class better than many of those who are born in it. And so fate has perhaps destined me more than any other to be—I can apply this word to myself—an honest broker, an honest broker between both sides.

I am not personally interested here. I am neither dependent on the state, nor on office, nor am I dependent on any industrial or economic concern, nor yet on any trade union. I am an

independent man and have set myself no other aim than to serve the German people to the best of my ability and, above all, to be of service to those millions who, thanks to their trusting simplicity and to the ignorance and wickedness of their leaders in the past, have perhaps suffered most of all. I have always proclaimed that there can be nothing finer than to be the advocate of those who cannot defend themselves.

May 1, 1937

The most important of the great tasks we have set ourselves is to reincorporate the German worker once more in the German nation. If some day in the future we should be asked what it is that we regard as our greatest achievement, then my reply will be that it is to be sought in the fact that we have been succesful in restoring the German worker to his place in the nation and in making clear to him that the nation is not just a concept in which he has no share, but that he himself belongs to it, is part and parcel of it, and cannot possibly be anything else; that his life is bound up with that of the whole people, which is, indeed, the source, not merely of his power, but of his whole life. It is a source of great pride to us that we have restored to the nation countless millions of men and women who had been wandering in other ways, filled, some of them with envy and others with hatred of those who call themselves nationalists. And though they were wandering in other ways, millions of them were not satisfied with the feeling that they were destined to be outsiders. We opened the doors of the nation to them, we united them with all those who saw in the nation, as they do now, a great good, indeed the highest, which must be defended by all, because without it there is no possibility of life.

October 24, 1933

It is a wonderful thing to go among the people and to help them. Just think of everything that has been done in Germany in the social sphere alone. The opportunities for such work are

countless—in the people's homes, in factories, on board ship, in the spheres of recreation, advice on various questions, social and cultural betterment—and, what is more, these opportunities are taken. The bolshevist paradise that has been "built" in Russia is but mere empty vapourings; in this country we have created a state where development and improvement are taking place the whole time — and nobody can deny it.

October 4, 1936

Our country has a population of 220 to the square mile. We have no colonies and lack most of the raw materials which we need. For fifteen years after the war we were bled white. We lost all our foreign property and the capital we had invested abroad. We had to pay more than fifty milliards (2,500,000,000 pounds sterling) in reparations. Thus Germany was brought to the verge of complete ruin. Yet we have maintained our powers of existence, though we had to pass through periods of the greatest anxiety. We have reduced the numbers of our unemployed, so that we are actually in a better situation to day than some of the rich countries of the earth. All this is no small triumph for the efficacy of the National-Socialist regime.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1935

If we consider the people as one great organism and if we realise that each piece of work, no matter where it be done or what form it take, is to the ultimate gain of the whole organism, then we shall be able to form at least a general idea of how much our people have benefited by virtue of one fact alone, namely, that the unemployed—who numbered over six millions—have been reduced to one and three-quarter million. In this we have rendered the nation a service the precise importance of which the individual can scarcely estimate.

Since our advent to power we have replaced about five million people in the process of national production. This

means that for every working day we have given to the German people an average of between thirty and forty million hours of work more than they previously had. This has been their salvation. It does not matter for what kind of production this working power has been employed in individual cases. Taken all in all, in one year we have given to the nation the fruits of about nine milliard hours of labour.

This gigantic achievement, which is disturibted in its activities and effects throughout the whole sphere of our national production, is not for the benefit of a few individual millionaires. Directly or indirectly, it brings about an improvement in the general conditions of living and thus in the life of the nation.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1935

THE WINTER HELP ORGANISATION

The Winter Help Work is for us National-Socialists something on which we can look with pride. We are truly proud when we feel that in it we have set up an institution which is absolutely unparalleled in the whole world.

October 6, 1935

For four years we have had to fight at home against the idea of international marxistic solidarity. In this so-called international solidarity we saw merely the enemy of any true national attitude of mind, a mere phantom which lured men away from the only intelligent sort of solidarity that there can be, the solidarity which finds its eternal basis in the ties of blood. At the same time, however, we always realized quite clearly that the old "solidarity" could not be set aside unless we could offer something to take its place. This was why we chose "National Solidarity" as the slogan of the Winter Help Work.

We broke the power which international marxistic solidarity held over our nation and gave the millions of German workers another, far better solidarity in its place—the solidarity of our own nation, inseparable unity not only when all goes well, but when things go badly as well, unity not only with those who are blessed by fortune but also with those whose steps are dogged by ill luck.

If we then understand national solidarity aright, we cannot but see that it is based on the idea of sacrifice. In other words, if somebody or other objects that the continual giving involves too heavy a burden, then we must reply that that is the idea of a truely national solidarity. True national solidarity cannot find its sense in mere taking.

If one part of our nation is in distress as a result of conditions which are the fault of all, and the other part, which has had the fortune not to be affected, is only prepared to shoulder but a part of the burden which has been forced upon the first, then we say that that the one part of the nation must have certain burdens placed upon it in order that the distress of the other may be relieved; for the greater the readiness to make such a sacrifice, the sooner will it prove possible in this way to reduce the distress of the other part.

Everyone must realize that what he gives makes no contribution towards the setting up of the community of the nation, unless it does mean a sacrifice for him. For, in the last resort, it is only thus that we can build up that higher solidarity which we must seek to attain if we are to overcome the other.

Once the whole nation has really succeeded in grasping the fact that these measures call for a sacrifice on the part of each individual, then they will lead to something far greater than a mere lessening of material needs, from them will grow the conviction that the "community of the nation" is no mere empty concept, but that it is something which really is vital and living.

We need this community of the nation more than ever in the hard struggle which our people must wage. If Germany were blessed by fortune, then one could perhaps regard it as being of somewhat less importance; since, however, the times which we are called upon to face are hard ones, we must realize absolutely clearly that we shall only be able to survive them if our people holds together like one single piece of steel. And we shall only be able to do this if the millions who have not been blessed by fortune come to feel that those who have been more favoured feel with them and are prepared to make sacrifices in order that the whole world may realize that the bonds which hold our nation together are unbreakable.

Let there be no mistake about this, whatever sacrifices the German nation may now make in this way will be repaid a thousandfold. For what are all the material sacrifices which are thus made, compared with the greatest gift possible, namely that of being one united, common nation which feels that it belongs together, which is prepared to tread its allotted destiny on this earth together, and together to fight its way through. The blessings arising out of this unity, out of this national solidarity are far more powerful and useful than the cost of the sacrifices which must be made by each individual in order to achieve them.

This great campaign against hunger and cold must therefore be carried on under the following slogan: we have broken the power of the international solidarity of the proletariat, in its place we will set up the living national solidarity of the German nation.

Just as within the family it goes without saying that it is the duty of children to help their parents when they have grown old and are no longer in a position to work for themselves, so also, in the larger family of the nation, we must aid those who are no longer in a position to help themselves.

In this respect the upper ten thousand and the many others who are comfortably off have a special duty. I wish to make

it perfectly plain here that the Winter Help Work looks especially to those who are in a better position than the majority of the nation to make sacrifices. I use the word "sacrifices" intentionally, for to my mind there is nothing particularly to be proud of if a man who is well off and has a big income only gives as much as a man who scarcely earns enough to keep body and soul together. On the contrary, I hold that each person should make a contribution that really does involve a sacrifice for him.

September 30, 1934

We do not call upon the rich to give to the poor, but upon the whole people to aid itself. Every one is to help, be he rich or poor. Every one is to think that there is somebody else still poorer than he is, whom he will therefore help because he is a fellow member of the nation.

From time to time people say, "Yes, but couldn't you find another way? The other day I was in a café and three times collectors came to me, three times I had to dip into my pocket and give them something. Can't it be done in some other way?" The answer is that of course I understand how trying it is for you to be approached three times; but isn't it much more trying for the girl or man who is collecting to have to approach perhaps a thousand people like you in the course of one day?

Yet other people say, "Yes, this one-pot business is all very well, and I have no objection to making a contribution, but I don't see why I shouldn't be able to enjoy my usual three or four courses." No, no, it is our desire that the whole nation if possible should once a month share the same rations. People have no idea how good that is for their health. It will most certainly do them good. But above all it will do good in another direction to those who perhaps have not even the amount which some people can give on-pot Sunday. This then is the sacrifice which the latter can make.

October 4, 1936

THE TASK OF THE PARTY

In the fifteen years of a struggle for power amid constant persecution and oppression on the part of our adversaries, there was a steady increase not only in the Party's inner moral strength but also, still more important, in its outward capacity to resist.

Hence we succeeded in the course of fifteen years in growing from the smallest beginnings into a political organization such as Germany had never before witnessed. And only as a result of this fact was I able to make use of the results of the process of selection produced by years of struggle in choosing the men who should lead the Party.

February 20, 1938

The National Socialist Party has performed an epic achievement. It was not the leaders of industry, the professors and the academic classes, nor yet the soldiers or artists or philosophers or poets who rescued our people from the abyss, but solely the political army of the National-Socialist Movement. To-day we are witnessing merely the initial stages of the results of that work; only the generations that come after us will be able to appreciate its full significance.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1935

Just as it is impossible to conceive of an army continuing to win success if it itself is incompetent, however gifted be its leader, so is it in our case too. The most gifted general can only put his ideas and plans into practice when the instrument at his disposal is far superior to that of the enemy. That I conquered Germany I owe to the instrument that was created in the National-Socialist Movement and in its organizations.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1935

That things improved in Germany is not due to the philosophers, to our professors of history, nor yet to our bourgeois

politicians, least of all to our trade and industry, but simply and solely to the victory of the National-Socialist Movement.

It may be that this event is so great a miracle that, as has so often happened in the history of the world, our contemporaries come little by little to take it as a matter of course. Our former opponents, so few of whom are today still opponents of ours, are perhaps in a better position than anyone else to realize how much sacrifice, heroism and faith this miracle cost. And a miracle it was! One man began and gathered round him five, six, seven others; then this group advanced towards its object—the winning of power in the State. It is no good saying that it was just a lucky chance that they did win it in 1933; even in 1919 we firmly believed that it would one day be ours. We would never have attained this object, had we not from the very beginning been absolutely convinced that in the long run we would achieve our aim.

When the Movement came into being it was not with the idea that it too might play a role in Germany, winning a province, capturing a town council and perhaps even obtaining a majority in some state parliament. No, even when it only consisted of seven men this Party was convinced that one day Germany would belong to it, that one day it would conquer the country.

But before this could come about a new teaching was necessary, a new set of basic principles, a new idea.

October 4, 1936

The Party represents the political conscience and the political will. The function of the Party primarily consists in establishing and maintaining leadership in every department of public life. The aim of this leadership is to mould the people in accordance with the political beliefs and principles of National Socialism. In doing this it must endeavour to create a political tradition among the people and an organized political system that will function naturally and permanently. Therefore, in fulfilling its historical mission, it must examine the inner racial substance of our people, studying it in all its good qualities as well as in

its defects, and finally draw practical rules of action from the knowledge thus obtained. Among these practical rules and principles are:—

1. In the light of the knowledge gained from the analysis I have mentioned, the Party must lay down and define the chief ends which have to be kept in view and followed in the sum total of national effort in every branch of life.

2. It must endeavour to bring the actual trends of public life into harmony with the lines of action which depend upon the conditions inherent in the character of our people.

3. In order to carry out this task, the Party must have full belief and confidence in itself and must not allow itself to be deflected from its line of action by any criticism or doubts as to the correctness of the undertaking on which it is engaged. From the very fact that it has been brought into existence as an historical manifestation, it is its duty to act thus; and from the success of its action will come the *a posteriori* justificaton. Experience proves that history denies its sanction only to him who is too weak in character to go through with his work, or else incapable and therefore unqualified to undertake it. God continues to bestow His grace only on him who continues to merit it. But whoever speaks and acts in the name of a people, which is a part of God's handiwork, will continue to discharge his mandate only so long as he does not sin against the existence or future of that part of God's creation that has been entrusted to his care. For this reason it is always well that the conquest of power should be the result of a hard struggle. What has proved difficult to gain will generally be all the more bravely defended. And the more stable a political regime, the more beneficial it is to the welfare of a people.

If it be the task of the Party to build up an organization from which the political elite of the nation will continue to be drawn in the future, as from a permanent source of supply, then it must see that the Government of the country is carried along

on fixed and definite lines and in agreement with a firmly established system of political principles. Therefore the mission of the Party is to see that within its own organization the prerequisite conditions are present for the training of a future elite corps who will take over political and administrative leadership. The Party must also remember: firstly that every German must be educated in the National-Socialist philosophy, secondly that the best National Socialists will become members of the Party, and finally that the best Party members will take over the administration of the State. From within its own organization, therefore, the Party must supply the German State with the men who will in future fill the highest administrative offices. Accordingly the Party must always continue to educate National Socialists for the service of the National-Socialist State. Thus the respective missions of State and Party are clearly defined. The function of the State is to carry on the traditional administration of public institutions within the juridical framework and with the help of the laws, while those of the Party are:—

1. to construct and consolidate its own internal organization and make it an impregnable and enduring shrine of National-Socialist doctrine;

2. to educate the entire nation along the lines of that doctrine;

3. to place the individuals thus educated at the disposal of the State, so that they may eventually become leaders and, at the same time, faithful servants. Moreover, the principle of mutual respect and recognition of mutual rights must be upheld.

That is the goal we have in view.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1935

The Führer is the Party and the Party is the Führer. Just as I feel myself only as a part of the Party, the Party feels itself only as a part of me. I do not know when the time may come for me to close my eyes, but the Party will continue to exist. That I do

German community. You shall keep it and hold fast to it; no one shall rob you of it. We cannot begin too early to train the German youth to feel that it is before everything else German.

You are the Germany of the future, on you depends the achievement of all that we are struggling for today.

There may be many Germans at the present time who deny the value of our ideals, but National Socialism is training you young people up to be idealists, for it is only great ideas that can re-weld the German nation into a unity. What more splendid thing could there be than this mighty idea which has taken possession of even the youngest in the nation, and which now, on this unique occasion, reveals itself to German youth. Our nation will never pass away as along as it is accessible to its great ideals!

What can happen to a nation as long as its young people are prepared to sacrifice everything in order to serve its great ideals.

It is my firm belief that in the National Socialist Youth Movement a new type is growing up.

October 2, 1932

THE LABOUR SERVICE

We wish, at a time when millions of us are living without understanding of the importance of manual labour, to teach the German nation once more, through the institution of labour service, that manual labour does not degrade or dishonour, but rather does honour to everyone who performs it faithfully and conscientiously, just as does any other work.

It is our firm determination that every German, whoever he be, rich or poor, son of a professional man or of a factory worker, shall once in his life be a manual labourer, in order

that he may learn what manual labour is, and that he may more easily be able to command because he has himself learned to obey. We are not going to be content with doing away with Marxism merely as far as appearances go; we are determined to remove the conditions necessary for its existence. We want to spare the generations that come after us this intellectual chaos.

Brain worker and labourer must never again stand in opposition to one another. That is the reason why we are rooting out that silly pride which so easily takes possession of the individual and makes him look down upon his comrades who "only" stand at the carpenter's bench or by the machine, or walk behind the plough. But not only must every German become acquainted with this kind of work, the labourer too must realize that brain work is necessary too. He also must learn that no one has the right to look down on others and to think himself better, but that everybody must be ready to form part of the great community.

May 1, 1933

We all know that this community of the nation cannot exist unless and until, high above all those ideas of profession and class which have till now always separated us, there stands the one conception of our single, united people.

To attain this it is first necessary to set up the idea of work against all forms of thinking which depend merely upon money, against all self-seeking aims and intentions It is a great undertaking to educate a whole nation up to this new conception and idea of work. We have dared, we shall succeed, and you are the first to bear witness that this work can not possibly fail. The whole nation will pass through your school! The time will come when it will no longer be possible for any German to grow up into the community of this nation if he has not first passed through your community.

We know too that it will come to pass that the idea of manual labour is no longer for millions of our people something that cuts them off from their fellows, but rather a concept which binds all together; above all we know that it will come to pass that there is no one left in Germany who seeks to see in manual labour something that is inferior. We do not wish to be mere theoretical socialists, but as proper National Socialists we will tackle this problem and solve it in a proper manner. And we shall succeed in this work, for behind us there stands not merely the *weltanschauung* of a movement that is master of Germany but also our will.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1934

Life divides us perforce into many groups and occupations. It is the task of the political and mental education of the nation to overcome this division. This task has in the first line been allotted to the Labour Service. Its duty is to unite all Germans in work, and thus to form a community out of them. To this end let it place the same tool in the hand of all, the tool that a nation honours most, the spade.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1935

NATIONAL SOCIALISM AND ART

He who is called by Providence to reveal the soul of a people to the world around, and to let it speak in music or in stone, suffers beneath the power of the almighty driving force which is his master, he will speak, even if the world does not understand, or has no wish to do so, he will suffer all things, rather than even once prove unfaithful to the star which burns within his breast and leads him on.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1933

The value of the various material goods that the nations produce is of absolutely no importance in comparison with

that of their cultural achievements. He must be a very foolish philistine who fails to realize the importance of this fact. But if one were to subtract from the total national possessions of the nations all those cultural achievements which at first sight seem to serve no practical end, then at one stroke the picture of our life in all its beauty would be transformed into a desert.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1937

What would the Egyptians be without their pyramids and temples and the artistic decorations that surrounded their daily lives? What would the Greeks be without Athens and the Acropolis? What would the Romans be without their mighty buildings and engineering works? What would the German emperors of the middles ages be without their cathedrals and their imperial palaces? And what would the Middle Ages themselves be without their town halls and guild halls, or religion be without its churches? That there was once such a people as the Mayas we should not know at all, or else be unconcerned about them, had they not left for the admiration of our time those mighty ruins of cities that bear witness to the extraordinary epic qualities of that people, such ruins as have arrested the attention of the modern world and are still a fascinating object of study for our scholars.

A people cannot live longer than the works which are the testimony of its culture.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1935

The cultural achievements which mark outstanding periods in human history were always coexistent with a high degree of social development. Whether they belong to the material or spiritual order it can be said that such works always incorporated the most profound elements of the national being. And never is it more necessary to direct the mind of a people towards the vital and inexhaustible powers of its inner being than when political and social and economic troubles tend to

weaken faith in the nobler qualities which the nation incarnates, and thereby hinder the fulfiment of its mission. When the poor human soul, oppressed with cares and troubles and inwardly distracted, no longer has a clear and definite belief in the greatness and future of the nation to which it belongs, then is the time to stimulate its regard for the indisputable evidences of those eternal racial values which cannot be affected in their essence by a temporary phase of political or economic distress. The more the natural and legitimate demands of a nation are ignored or suppressed—or even simply denied—the more important it is that these vital demands should take on the appeal of a higher and nobler right by giving tangible proof of the great cultural values incorporated in the nation. Such visible demonstration of the higher qualities of a people will, as the experience of history proves, remain for thousands of years as an unquestionable testimony not only to the greatness of a people but also to their moral right to exist.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1936

The greatest cultural achievements of humanity always owe their buoyancy, their incentive and their realization solely to that authoritative will, which has created and led human communities. Throughout the ages the authoritative will has been the greatest force in granting commissions to art. Not only have the general conditions for these cultural accomplishments been fixed by the authoritative will, but even the very forms.

The stronger the authority of the political will in the history of peoples and states, the greater were the cultural achievements of humanity. But the fact that amongst the Western nations the greatest achievements of all in this sphere of human, cultural work—for example, in the sphere of architecture—again and again bear an inner resemblance to one another, is only because the power which founded, created and formed these mutually related peoples and states always sprung from the same basis.

But this common basis also gives us European nations the creative ability for our cultural achievement, which is somehow nearly always of the same type, just in the same way as our political development, in spite of all that strife which is so familiar to us, has sprung from the same laws, and had the same beginnings and same methods.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1936

If culture may be described as the greatest communal achievement, which can flourish only as the result of the existence of a still greater common creation, then it is inseparably bound to those eternal creative powers which form and uphold human community and grant it the flight of their mightier soul.

Whatever human progress we may make is but transitory and is constantly being replaced by fresh knowledge, experience and the positive issues resulting therefrom. Sometimes one hears the apparently correct, but in reality senseless, remark that economics is the foundation of all art. No, no! It is the State which is necessary for economics and art—by the State, however, I mean the political strength found in nations to form and to lead. Such political strength to fashion has its more or less happy foundation just as much in economics and thus mortality, as in culture and thus immortality. The supposition that the greatest economic wealth of the nations is identical with the finest human culture, rests on a purely superficial knowledge, almost, one might say, on blind ignorance of the history of human development.

It is solely the cultural and not the economic achievement which always keeps the historical picture of humanity and our states alive for us. Probably nations have existed—in fact, they did exist—with a far more flourishing economic life than the ancient Greeks ever possessed. But only the latter, through their cultural achievements, have remained immortal for humanity, while the others, owing to the lack of such achievements, have simply sunk into oblivion.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1936

Therefore you should also understand that cultural foundations are necessary for the National-Socialist State, like all other great creations in this world, if it wishes to succeed in its task; that it desires them and consequently, will create them. You should also grasp the fact that, just as the building up of human society is conceivable by overcoming personal freedom—i. e., if unrestrained freedom yields to the interests of communal life—so with culture a great general line must be found which allows the separate individual creations to be filled with a larger idea, and deprives them of the unbridled power of purely private conceptions and, in their place, grants them a common *weltanschauung*.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1936

If the nation is to be trained to take pride in itself, genuine motives of that pride must be placed before its eyes. The labour and sacrifices which the construction of the Pantheon demanded were the work of one time; but it has been an everlasting source of pride to the Greeks and an object of universal admiration to their contemporaries and to posterity. We also ought to nourish the hope that Providence will grant us great geniuses who may express the soul of our people in everlasting concord of sounds or in stone. We know of course that here as elsewhere the hard saying applies: "Many are called but few are chosen".

But we are convinced that in the political sphere we have discovered a fitting mode of expression for the nature and will of our people. Therefore we feel that we are capable also of recognizing and discovering in the cultural sphere the complementary expression which will be adequate to that nature and that will. We shall discover and encourage artists who will imprint on the new German State the cultural stamp of the German race, which will be valid for all time.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1935

Not five per cent of the questionable masterpieces of our so-called Modern Art would have found any place in the art collections

of the German people, had they not been thrust upon the public by a politico-ideologically orientated propaganda which was quite unconnected with art, and by similar political factors. The depth of the national aversion to having its art "enriched" by such propaganda may be judged by everyone from the impressions left on visitors after inspecting the Exhibition of Degenerate Art in Munich. Nevertheless a clever, sly Jewish art-propaganda succeeded in thrusting these deplorable "masterpieces", if not on the healthy individuals, at least on the so-called "appointed advocates of art", and in smuggling them into our galleries and thus ultimately in forcing them upon the German people.

One cannot speak here of a natural process of replacing artistic works which had become too old and thus more or less faded, by wonderful new creations, but rather of an oppression of the artistic consciousness and, ultimately, of the artistic wealth of the nation, by a number of deceivers who, coming forward *en masse*, impudently assert that they represent the creative type of a new "modern" art.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1937

In all consideration of art the supreme commandment is therefore that which preaches that it is one's duty to show the greatest tolerance for the truely great cultural creations of the past. An age that is itself great can permit itself to treat, from both a political and cultural point of view, the work of its forefathers with the same respect that it desires one day to be extended to its own work by its successors. It will, moreover, strive its utmost to make its own contribution as a contrast to these achievements of the past, and then leave it to posterity to set a value upon them and to choose between them if necessary. This will be the proudest mark of a truely great creative epoch.

Thus in the days to come it will not be judged by what it pulled down, but simply by what it itself built and gave form to.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1937

It is therefore the first great task of the Third Reich to devote special care to the cultural works of the past and to endeavour to render them accessible to the broad masses of our people. This last must be undertaken with understanding, on a large scale, and with common sense, for it is quite clear that a man who is worn out by a hard day's work or by a load of care is not always capable of dealing with difficult artistic problems in the evening, or of making them his companious.

The man who has to battle with worries has far more need of laughter than the man on whom life has always smiled. Thus the theatre must serve the comic as well as the tragic muse, and it is obvious that only a certain percentage of those to whom a good operetta is a true piece of art are capable of grasping the most difficult grand opera. But this does not matter, on the contrary it is all to the good. The decisive thing is, however, that we must endeavour to lead our people once more along this path to joy and beauty, and in this way, if possible, to the sublime.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1937

We have definitely decided, as far as in us lies, that all cultural activity at the present time should be directed, especially in the domain of architecture, towards the production of work that will not only be enduring in the appeal of its artistic proportions but also up-to-date in satisfying the material demands of our time.

The reason why I am giving such prominence to architecture in dealing with cultural matters is because this problem is of immediate practical importance just now. For the present at least, Fate does not seem to have decided to give us a great composer or painter or sculptor. Therefore we must use the possibilites that are at hand. We cannot produce an equivalent for the want I have mentioned, but we can at least compensate for it by creative activity in other directions. This nation has produced works of such enduring value in those spheres of art where we lack great master spirits today, that for the time being we can be content with what we already possess in such

spheres. But the carrying out of great constructional programmes is a matter of pressing necessity.

Art must be a herald of the sublime and beautiful, and the expositor of natural and healthy living.

When it fulfils this condition, then no sacrifice on its behalf can be too great. If it fails to meet this test, then even the smallest expenditure on it is a contribution to evil; for this latter kind of art is not a healthy and constructive factor in the betterment of our existence, but rather a mark of degeneration and corruption.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1935

At some future date, when it will be possible to view those events in clearer perspective, people will be astonished to find that just at the time when National Socialism and its leaders were fighting a life-or-death battle for the preservation of the nation, the first impulse was given for the re-awakening and restoration of artistic vitality in Germany. It was at this same juncture that the political parties were wiped out, the opposition of the federal states overcome and the sovereignty of the Reich established as sole and exclusive. While the defeated Centre Party and the Marxists were being driven from their final entrenchments, the trades unions abolished, while National Socialist thought and ideas were being brought from the world of dream and vision into the world of fact, and our plans were being put into effect one after the other—in the midst of all this we found time to lay the foundations of a new Temple of Art.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1936

The poltroon is most effectively forced to stop his grumbling when he is confronted with the eternal diction of great art. The centuries bow to it in silent veneration. May God give us that greatness of spirit which will enable us to formulate our plans in a manner worthy of our national greatness. This, of course, is an arduous undertaking.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1935

is strong again in its own will, strong in perseverance and strong to make every sacrifice. Lord, we will not let thee go! Bless our fight for our freedom, and bless our German people and fatherland.

May 1, 1933

The Party never had the intention, and it has not the intention now, of engaging in any kind of hostilities against Christianity in Germany. Our aim has been quite the opposite. We have sought to unite the various regional Protestant churches, whose conditions of existence were impossible, and create one great Evangelical Church throughout the Reich, without interfering in the slightest with questions of religious belief or practice. By concluding a concordat with the Catholic Church, the Party has sought to establish a state of affairs which would be beneficial to both sides and which would be of a permanent character. The Party has abolished the organizations that belonged to the Atheist Movement, and in doing this it has cleared our whole life of innumerable symptons, the suppression of which is or ought to be the task of the Christian denominations.

But under no condition whatsoever will the National Socialist State permit religious denominations to engage in political activities, whether these activities be a continuance of the old tradition or something started afresh. And here I should like to issue a definite warning against the entertaining of any illusions whatsoever in regard to the fixed determination of the Movement and the State. We have already fought the clerical politicians and forced them to leave Parliament. It was a long struggle during which we held no public power whatsoever, whereas the others held all the power in their hands.

But today we have this power and it is easier for us to maintain the struggle on behalf of the principles I have mentioned. Yet we shall never turn this fight into a fight against Christianity or against either of the two great denominations. But we shall

carry on this fight for the purpose of preserving our public life from those priests who have forgotten their vocation and practised politics rather than the care of the souls. We shall also carry on the fight to unmask those who pretend that their Church is threatened, while the truth unfortunately is that they themselves are only looking for the opportunity to be free of it. I need not assure you that we National Socialists have not sought this quarrel. For we know what the Jewish Bolshevist menace is, as it threatens the world to-day, and we are too keenly aware of it not to wish that all forces could be united in combatting it. Had Communism succeeded, the problem of the twenty-six antiquated regional churches and that of the Catholic Centre Party would have been quickly solved. Wherever Bolshevism has come to hold political power, the "militant churches" present a picture that is essentially more inglorious than that presented by the "militant" National Socialist Movement in Germany with its innumerable martyrs, which has beaten and routed the Communist murderers and incendiaries.

National-Socialist Party Congress, 1935

In this hour I pray that the Almighty will give His blessing in the years to come to our work and action, to our judgment and to our strength of resolution; that He may guard us from all false pride as from all cowardly submission; that He will let us find the right way which He in His providence has allotted to the German people; and that He always give us the courage to do right and never to waver or weaken before any force or danger.

February 20, 1938